Embracing the Tensions: A Qualitative Case Study of Learning to Teach in a Social Justice Teacher Education Program

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EMBRACING THE TENSIONS: A QUALITATIVE CASE STUDY OF LEARNING TO TEACH IN A SOCIAL JUSTICE TEACHER EDUCATION PROGRAM

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by

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Signature Page

ABSTRACT

EMBRACING THE TENSIONS: A QUALITATIVE CASE STUDY OF LEARNING TO TEACH IN A SOCIAL JUSTICE TEACHER EDUCATION PROGRAM

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In recent years, the theme of social justice in teacher education programs has been the subject of considerable controversy, as it has become at once more popular and more vulnerable to criticism. More and more teacher education programs claim to prepare teachers to teach for social justice. Yet we know little about the experience of teacher candidates learning to teach in programs with explicit social justice agendas, and we know little about the impact of this agenda on teachers, and in turn, on the students they teach. This dissertation aims to increase our understanding of what it means for teacher candidates/graduates to be prepared in a teacher education program with a stated commitment to social justice. By focusing in depth on two cases studies with very different outcomes, my study examines the impact of this agenda on teachers and the students they teach over a relatively long period of time.

A qualitative case study design was employed to collect and analyze data for two master's level teacher candidates/graduates over three years. Data included extensive interviews and observations, teacher candidates' coursework, the assignments the teachers created, and their students work in response to these assignments. In addition,

interviews were conducted with teacher education faculty, as well as with cooperating teachers, mentors, supervisors, and principals.

Based on a sociocultural framework, and drawing on Bakhtin's theories of discourse and ideological becoming, this dissertation argues that learning to teach in a program with a stated social justice agenda was a complex process of negotiating several different and, at times, competing discourses of social justice. These discourses represented a range of ideas, interpretations, and practices that the teachers had to investigate and adapt as they developed their own authentic perspective. Furthermore, the development of an authentic perspective as teachers for social justice required embracing tensions within and among these discourses, and recognizing that these tensions were essential to their development as educators for social justice. Finally, this dissertation argues that the case study teachers' relative success or failure engaging in this ideological struggle was influenced by the contexts in which their learning took place, the support they had to negotiate the challenges and tensions associated with learning to teach for social justice, and their own personal capacity to handle the conflicts they encountered.

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CHAPTER ONE: LEARNING TO TEACH FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE: COMPLEX QUESTIONS AND NO EASY ANSWERS

In recent years, the theme of social justice in teacher education programs has become increasingly popular. Yet, with this popularity have come questions about what teacher education programs with social justice agendas actually do. Critics have argued that they promote self-esteem, cultural awareness, and political ideas at the expense of academic learning (MacDonald, 1998; Will, 2006). Teacher education programs with social justice agendas have also been accused of evaluating prospective teachers based on value-laden indicators that neglect knowledge and skills relevant to teaching. This in turn, critics suggest, creates a climate that is hostile to students who hold views contrary to the dominant social justice ideas promoted in these programs (Wilson, 2005).

Even teacher educators have criticized the field for its increased use of the term social justice without adequately defining what it means to prepare teachers for social justice. Zeichner (2006) complained that the term "social justice teacher education" is so often used by teacher educators that it is "difficult to find a teacher education program in the United States that does not claim to have a program that prepares teachers for social justice" (p. 328). Grant and Agosto (2008) argued that social justice is a "well-intended idea" and a "popular slogan" (p. 198) in teacher education, but in practice the ideas often lack theoretical and conceptual clarity. Finally, Chubbuck and Zembylas (2008) cited the increase in social justice-related presentations at recent annual meetings of the American Educational Research Association and suggested that, "The term is rapidly becoming one that evokes strong response but is in danger of being emptied of significant content" (p. 281).

These and other critiques, leveled at teacher education by those both within and outside of preservice teacher education, suggest that the idea of social justice in teacher education does indeed require further theoretical investigation and clarification. Specifically, although the term social justice is widely used in teacher education, we know little about the experience of teacher candidates learning to teach in programs with explicit social justice agendas, and we know little about the impact of this agenda on teachers, and in turn, on the students they teach. This dissertation aims to increase our understanding of what it means for teacher candidates/graduates to be prepared in a teacher education program with a stated commitment to social justice. By focusing in depth on two cases studies with very different outcomes, my study examines the impact of this agenda on teachers and the students they teach over a relatively long period of time.

Preparing Teachers: A Complex Problem

Preparing teachers for U.S. public schools has been the focus of considerable public interest, legislative action, programmatic intervention, and research in recent years. Yet, the circumstances surrounding teacher preparation, and the educational context for which teacher candidates are being prepared, are complex. They include: the persistent gap in outcomes between White, middle-class students and their low-income peers from diverse race and language backgrounds; the "revolving door" (Ingersoll, 2003) of teachers into and out of the public schools, especially schools in urban and rural communities; and the "demographic divide" (Gay & Howard, 2000) that exists between the growing majority of U.S. school children and their teachers. Taken together, these circumstances and contexts create an urgent need for effective recruitment, strong

preparation, and support for teachers. In response to these diverse problems, some teacher education programs have embraced "teaching for social justice" as a central mission. In the pages that follow, I delineate these complex issues and contexts more specifically and discuss how the idea of teacher education for social justice agenda is an attempt to respond to these pressing concerns.

The Achievement Gap and the Demographic Divide

In the United States, there is a persistent and seemingly intractable "achievement gap" between minority students and their White, middle-class peers. In the current era of accountability and NCLB federal policy, some have argued that this achievement gap is really an "opportunity" or a "resource" gap (Ladson-Billings, 2006), given that low-income African-American and Latino students do not have access to the same high quality resources or well-prepared teachers as their White, middle-class peers do. Several critics of NCLB point to its "perverse incentives" that lead to a widening of the gap between White students in suburban schools and their minority peers in urban and rural schools (e.g. Wood, 2004; Nieto, 2006; Darling-Hammond, 2004; 2007). Specifically, critics argue that accountability systems have pushed many schools to adopt packaged curricula and yearly testing, leading to a "reorientation of instruction", in which considerable time is spent on math and literacy at the expense of other subjects (Rothstein & Jacobsen, 2006). This, in turn, has led to widening achievement gaps in subject areas in which schools are not now being held accountable (Rothstein & Jacobsen, 2006). As Firestone and Schorr (2004) explained, NCLB may lead to modest gains in reading and math scores in some schools, but students lose ground in other subjects, as the

instructional focus narrows to prepare students with skills for the tests. This curricular imbalance, they argued, disproportionately affects low-income and minority children.

To add to this bleak picture, researchers have shown that test-based sanctions are related to higher drop out rates among Black and Latino students in the very districts that have shown apparent increases in achievement (Giroux & Schmidt, 2004; Sunderman, Kim, & Orfield, 2005; Darling-Hammond, 2007). Thus, the reality of NCLB may in fact exacerbate the achievement gap it claims to narrow. Many of the most advantaged students in the U.S. are immune to the negative effects of this accountability system because they attend private schools and thus are not required to take annual state-wide high stakes exams. In addition, many suburban public school children who are required to take the tests may experience some change to their curriculum but generally are not adversely affected. Meanwhile, many of America's children are increasingly exposed to a highly-scripted education that focuses on additional instruction in the subjects that are tested, leading to a kind of school curriculum that lacks the richness of the disciplinary diversity to which their more affluent peers are exposed.

The inequities that poor and minority children face in schools are not only curricular. The harsh reality of teacher attrition is particularly pronounced in urban schools with large numbers of low-income children of color. Among all teachers, attrition rates are highest in the first years of teaching and in urban schools. As many as 50% of new teachers leave in the first five years, and between 20-25% leave after just one year (Ingersoll, 2003). Many reasons are given for this high attrition including changes in career patterns of the new generation of teachers (Johnson & Birkeland, 2003), the negative impact of mandated curricula and accountability demands (Scherff, 2007), and

the clash between how novices imagine their work and the reality they face in schools (Flores & Day, 2006). Whatever the reason offered for the loss of so many new classroom teachers, high attrition rates leave poor and minority students with the greatest number of inexperienced and unprepared teachers, which adds to the inequities they experience in school.

In addition to the problem of retaining high quality teachers for urban schools is the challenge associated with what has been called the "demographic divide" (Gay & Howard, 2000) between teachers and their students. Over the last 50 years, the public schools have become ever more racially and linguistically diverse, yet overwhelmingly, teachers in U.S. schools continue to be White, female and middle class (Villegas & Lucas, 2002; Hollins & Torres Guzman, 2005). The most recent data from the *Schools and Staffing Survey* (SASS), which was administered by the National Commission on Educational Statistics in 2003-04, indicate that 83% of all teachers are White, and 75% are female (U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, 2006). Although these numbers are slightly lower for urban schools, when compared with similar data for students, a strong demographic divide is apparent between urban teachers and their students. *SASS* data indicate that the total population of public school children for 2003-04 was 60% White, and 40% minority, however schools in "central cities" were only 36% White, and 64% minority. Thus, urban schools disproportionately serve students of color, while their teachers are overwhelmingly White and middle class.

This demographic divide has implications for teaching and student learning. A 1998 survey of teachers found that only 20% of the more than 50% of teachers who teach culturally diverse students felt prepared to meet their needs (Lucas & Grinberg, 2006). In

addition, many teachers maintain biases about minority students that influence their classroom practices in ways that disadvantage students of color (Irvine, 1990; Gilette, 1996; Hollins & Torres Guzman, 2005). In a study of the difficulties of urban teaching, Voltz (2000) found that 60% of special education teachers and 73% of general educators stated that student diversity and cultural difference were their greatest challenges in the classroom. Efforts in teacher education programs to change these perspectives tend to be short-term and, research indicates, far from universally effective (Cochran-Smith & Fries, 2005; Hollins & Torres Guzman, 2005). Therefore, students in U.S. public schools, particularly urban students of color, face significant barriers to the academic success promised by the phrase "no child left behind."

Teacher Education and the Goals of Social Justice

Although they have roots in early 20th century scholarship (Dewey, 1916; Rugg, 1926), in their current iteration, teacher education programs committed to social justice could be considered a response to the current opportunity gap, the retention problem, and the demographic divide described above. In fact, several university-based programs as well as some streamlined pathways into teaching explicitly intend to prepare teachers to teach for social justice, and draw on the circumstances described above as motivation. Teacher education programs with social justice agendas attempt to respond to these inequities by preparing teachers to meet the needs of all students and focus particular attention on the children most affected by the inequities outlined above.

Although these programs do not have a uniform approach or curriculum, and some critics have suggested that the field suffers from a lack of conceptual clarity, teacher education programs with social justice missions often draw on a common body of

conceptual scholarship. This scholarship includes, but is not limited to, work in multicultural education, culturally responsive pedagogy, critical theory, and democratic education. A central assumption of this scholarship in teacher education for social justice is that all children deserve access to high quality learning and the opportunity for increased life chances, and that teacher education programs must embed issues of justice and equity into the process of learning to teach (Cochran-Smith, 1999, 2004a; Michelli & Keiser, 2005; Villegas, 2007). The literature related to the idea of teacher education for social justice in more detail in Chapter Two.

Whatever the theoretical foundations that might inspire and guide teacher education programs, these programs are also powerfully influenced by current policy. Therefore, to understand the context in which teacher education for social justice currently operates, it is critical to examine the impact of the current accountability movement on these programs. As described earlier, the accountability movement and NCLB have played a profound role in the day-to-day lives of students and teachers, and fundamentally influenced the conversation about schooling in the United States. Similarly, spurred on by the accountability movement and NCLB, measuring outcomes of teacher education has become a popular focus of many policy-makers' demands in efforts to improve schooling. These outcomes are most often defined narrowly, focused on quantitative measures.

Currently there is a heavy emphasis, especially at the state policy level, on teacher education program outcomes. These outcomes are often defined narrowly as efforts are made to quantify the impact of teacher education programs on the teachers they prepare (Cochran-Smith, 2005). In fact, recent trends focus on the potential that systems of

"value-added assessment" offer to inform decisions about teaching and teacher education. These sophisticated statistical analyses attempt to link students' test scores over several years to specific teachers, and in turn to the teacher education programs that prepared these teachers (Noell & Burns, 2006).

These policy efforts highlight a fundamental difference between proponents of social justice-oriented teacher education programs and their detractors. One of the criticisms of teacher education for social justice described above—that it promotes self-esteem at the expense of knowledge—relates to this focus on measurable outcomes and hints at fundamentally different assumptions driving the debate over the idea of social justice in teacher preparation. Whereas critics have argued that the kinds of skills teacher candidates learn in social justice oriented teacher education are at odds with the knowledge relevant to teaching, proponents of social justice oriented programs argue that, in fact, knowledge should be defined more broadly. Teaching, they argue, cannot be reduced to training in particular content and strategies. They suggest that defining teaching as instructional practice and learning as a series of measurable student outcomes severely limits teachers' and students' potential and possibilities. Thus, proponents of teacher education for social justice "eschew narrow versions of teaching and learning" (Cochran-Smith, 2004) and define teaching as an intellectual endeavor that requires ongoing reflection. This difference in approach to knowledge and outcomes suggests very different ideas about how teacher education programs may prepare teachers to be successful with students.

This narrow outcomes focus in teacher education is often linked to larger efforts to apply market-based approaches to education reform. Some educational scholars have

argued that the central focus on test score results is fundamentally linked to efforts to privatize education. In fact, data that are collected as part of NCLB have been used to justify supplementary services, school choice, and school closures. Therefore, the use of data in a market-based model is ostensibly employed to help parents (who become consumers in this model) make the best choice among the products available (Ridenour, Lasley, & Bainbridge, 2001). Related specifically to teachers, this data collection has linked to efforts to measure teachers' success and let the numbers determine who stays in the job and who is dismissed.

Philosophically, some have argued that a market-based model of reform challenges American democratic ideals and is antithetical to much of the ideology of teacher education committed to social justice, such as the goals of equity and access to high quality education for all (Keiser, 2005). Giroux & Schmidt (2004) suggested, "At the heart of the current vision of schooling is a corporatized model of education that vitiates the democratic impulses and practices of civil society by either devaluing them or assimilating them into the logic of market demands" (p. 214). In fact, this market-based approach manipulates the American fascination with freedom: schools will have greater "freedom" to make decisions about teachers and curriculum, and parents will have "freedom" to choose the best schools. Yet, when we are driven by market-based ideals, and the standard measures of success required by markets, we may lose sight of some of the loftier and harder to measure goals of education, such as the freedom to engage in meaningful and transformative discussion, or challenge the status quo, or imagine a different world and work to make it possible.

Finally, when the research on teacher education focuses on the narrowly defined outcomes described above, we learn nothing about the teacher education program itself, nor what teacher candidates learn and do while in the program or in their classrooms. Thus, these kinds of research designs do not capture the complexity of learning to teach, and cannot attend to the ways new teachers manage classroom situations, incorporate students' experiences into the classroom, differentiate instruction, or in many other ways enact the central goals of teaching for social justice.

Purpose of the Study

As noted above, the theme of social justice in teacher education has been critiqued from those within and outside the field of teacher education, with much of the debate linked to the larger questions about the purposes of education. However, we know little about what teacher education with an explicit social justice agenda looks like and what impact this emphasis has on teachers prepared in these programs over time. Morva McDonald (2008), who conducted one of the few existing studies that investigates what program-wide teacher education for social justice looks like in action, argued, "We are in need of studies that examine teacher education programs and systems in which prospective teachers' opportunities to learn are shaped by their experiences across the program and that try to understand these opportunities in relation to the larger vision of teaching and learning emphasized by these programs" (p. 165). With teacher education for social justice under such scrutiny, it is critical that we gain a better grasp of what happens to teachers in and after graduating from these programs and how the program emphasis influences teachers and the students they teach.

In a historical review of research on teacher education, Cochran-Smith and Fries (2005) asserted that, "In the contemporary scene, some of the most exciting and potentially influential research on teacher preparation is that which examines and untangles the relationships between teachers' knowledge and beliefs, their professional skill and performance in classrooms, and their pupils' learning" (p. 100). Cochran-Smith and Fries suggested that examining teacher preparation requires that we focus not on one outcome but on the whole process of learning to teach and on various outcomes, for teachers and students, over time. In this dissertation, I have attempted to respond to this call and have tried to "untangle" some of the relationships among knowledge, beliefs, skills, performance, and pupils' learning in the context of a program with a stated commitment to social justice, and lend empirical data to the conversation about teacher education for social justice at the local site and beyond.

This dissertation aims to deepen what we know about learning to teach in social justice oriented programs by closely examining the experience of two teacher candidates/graduates over three years. Based on a wide range of longitudinal data for two teacher candidates who attended a social justice-oriented teacher education program, I have attempted to examine the experience of learning to teach for social justice. In my research design and analysis, I have assumed that what teacher candidates bring to the process, how they experience their teacher education program, and how they make sense of their learning over time are all relevant to understanding what it means to learn to teach for social justice. This study further assumes that learning to teach, and social justice, cannot be measured with a standardized test or a survey. Rather, deep analysis of the process of learning to teach recognizes that the skills teachers must have to be

effective in the classroom include intellectual, reflective, cognitive, and emotional skills that cannot all be measured according to a single outcome or a score on a test. Instead, the study offers a close analysis of how teachers and their students learn over time, and how new teachers perceive and enact their roles as teachers for social justice, as well as how they understand the purpose of schooling today.

Research Questions

Since its inception, I have been a core member of the Qualitative Case Study (QCS) project, which is part of the work of the Evidence Team of Hill[1] University Teachers for a New Era initiative (See the Research Design section for further description of the larger study and the TNE project). In this role, I have participated in all aspects of designing and developing the QCS study. The research questions for this dissertation drew from the larger QCS study but focused specifically on social justice, teacher education, and new teachers' experiences.

This study addresses the question: What is the experience of learning to teach for teacher candidates/graduates who are prepared in a program with a stated social justice agenda? There are several questions that were pursued within this larger question. The study described in this dissertation focused on two teacher candidates over three years. This is an unusually long period for teacher education research in general and particularly for a dissertation, and made it possible to investigate many aspects of new teachers' understanding and experience. The benefit of the small number of participants in the study was the depth of understanding I was able to gain about their experiences. More specifically, the study explored four areas:

[1] All participants' and schools' names have been changed to protect anonymity.

(1) How do teacher candidates/new teachers who participate in a program with a stated social justice agenda understand and enact the role of the teacher and the idea of teaching for social justice? How does this change over time?

(2) What is the program's social justice agenda--what are the coursework and field experiences, the goals of the program, and the faculty members' understandings of teaching for social justice?

(3) How do teacher candidates/new teachers practice in the classroom? How do they interpret what happens in teaching, including the learning opportunities they provide for students?

(4) How do the various contexts in which teacher candidates' learning is embedded, specifically the university setting and the K-12 schools in which they work, play a part in their understanding and their practice of teaching for social justice?

Learning to Teach for Social Justice as an Ideological Struggle

I argue in this dissertation that learning to teach in—and after graduating from—a program with a social justice agenda is a process of ideological struggle. This ideological struggle involves negotiating several different discourses of social justice. These discourses represent a range of ideas, interpretations, and practices that teacher candidates/graduates must investigate, adapt, and modify as they develop their own authentic perspective.

My analysis of a wide range of data for the two teachers I followed for nearly four years suggested five general themes or discourses of social justice that were salient to their development as teachers for social justice. These five discourses represented the

major ideas related to social justice that they brought with them and/or they encountered in their coursework, in their K-12 schools, and in the larger world as they learned to teach. As I describe in the chapters that follow, these discourses were general enough to be interpreted a number of ways. It was the two teacher candidates'/graduates' particular interpretations of these five discourses over time that defined their individual process of learning to teach for social justice and their very different outcomes. These general discourses, as I describe in detail in Chapter Four, included: a discourse of expectations; a discourse of practice; a discourse of race and equity; a discourse of relationships; and a discourse of responsibility.

As the teacher candidates/graduates were exposed to and reflected on these discourses and attempted to develop their own perspective about teaching for social justice, they encountered contradictions and tensions. In fact, as I argue in this dissertation, the process of learning to teach for social justice is, at its core, a process of embracing tensions. Learning to teach for social justice, as I argue, does not have some final endpoint or resolution. Rather, the development of an authentic perspective as a teacher for social justice involves recognizing that tensions are unavoidable. It may well be that it is in examining and embracing the tensions within and among the discourses of social justice that teachers grow and develop as educators for social justice.

Throughout my analysis I show that the teachers' capacity to engage in this ideological struggle, and thereby succeed in developing an authentic and sustainable ideology of teaching for social justice, was deeply embedded in the contexts in which their learning took place, the extent of support they had (or did not have) to negotiate the various challenges and tensions associated with learning to teach for social justice, and

their own personal capacity to handle the conflicts they encountered along the way. As the two case study teachers' experiences illustrate, these factors were critical to their success or failure learning to teach for social justice.

Organization of the Dissertation

This chapter sets the stage for an investigation of learning to teach in a social justice program. It places the research about learning to teach for social justice within the larger context of the debate over teacher preparation in an era of accountability and No Child Left Behind, and describes the central focus of teacher education for social justice, including its relationship to the larger accountability movement.

Chapter Two is a long and multi-layered chapter. First, I present the overall theoretical framework that guided this dissertation. Specifically, a sociocultural perspective guided my research. Sociocultural theory suggests that learning is inherently social and takes place through the complex interaction of several influences. Therefore investigating the cultural contexts in which the teachers were located was critical to understanding how they learned to teach. The new teachers encountered a range of ideas about teaching, learning, and social justice in their teacher education program and in the schools where they worked, and they were affected by less tangible influences such as school-community beliefs, district mandates, and national educational policy. Thus, a sociocultural lens provided a way to explore how all of these influences interacted and how the teachers constructed and were constructed by the different ideas of teaching and social justice they encountered.

Within this larger frame, I drew specifically on Mikhail Bakhtin's related theories of discourse and ideological becoming. Bakhtin's work reflects this larger sociocultural

perspective in that he investigated how individuals negotiate the competing discourses they encounter as they develop. Thus, applying his ideas provided a specific lens for examining the competing influences on new teachers as they develop their understandings, perspectives, and practices as teachers for social justice.

To locate my study within the larger context of research that has explored learning to teach and social justice-oriented teacher education, in Chapter Two I also review relevant conceptual and empirical work about learning to teach and teacher education for social justice. I organize the conceptual work on learning to teach into two categories: learning to teach as knowledge and identity development and learning to teach as socialization into communities of practice. This organization contributed to my understanding of the two case study teachers' development as they sought to define their practice as teachers for social justice based on what they brought, what they encountered in the process of learning to teach, and where this learning took place.

The literature on learning to teach is followed by a review, first of conceptual work and then empirical work, of teacher education for social justice. The conceptual work on teacher education for social justice draws from several bodies of related scholarship, including, but not limited to, work in multicultural education, critical theory, anti-racist education, and democratic education. In general, this work embraces a focus on improving opportunities and life chances for students who have traditionally been marginalized. Yet, despite this general agreement, the idea of teacher education for social justice is in fact somewhat ambiguous and theoretically weak, as I describe in Chapter Two, thus making it more vulnerable to critique from both within and outside the field of teacher education

The final section of Chapter Two reviews empirical work on teacher education for social justice and offers four central findings from the research. First, several of the studies I reviewed concluded that teacher education for social justice is "eye-opening." In other words, the research generally suggested that teacher candidates' experiences in social justice oriented programs exposed them to new ideas that challenged their pre-existing beliefs. Second, some of the studies I reviewed suggested that there is a considerable divide between conceptual and practical understandings of what it means to teach for social justice. In other words, although teacher candidates may learn theories of social justice in their coursework, they do not find a way to adapt or make sense of these theories the context of the classroom, leading to a kind of disequilibrium. Third, some of the empirical work on social justice teacher education focused on the place of recruitment and selection of teacher candidates, and suggested that who the entering teachers are, in terms of beliefs and cultural background, makes a difference in their success as teachers for social justice. Finally, research that examined the experience of teachers prepared in programs with social justice agendas generally found that these teachers experienced some risk and alienation once they began teaching. Together, all of these findings suggest that the project of preparing teachers to teach for social justice is influenced by who the teacher candidates are when they enter, what their experiences are in the program, and where they go when they graduate.

Chapter Three describes the research context, data sources, methods, and procedures employed for analyses. As I describe in detail in this chapter, a qualitative case study design was employed to collect and analyze data for two Master's level teacher candidates/graduates over three years. Data included extensive interviews and

observations, teacher candidates' coursework, the assignments the teacher candidates'/graduates' created, and the work their students did in response to these assignments. In addition, interviews were conducted with teacher education faculty, as well as with cooperating teachers, mentors, supervisors, and principals. One of the benefits of this design was its considerable length and depth—I did not have to rely on only one semester or even a year of data to make claims about what it meant to learn to teach in a program with a social justice agenda. Rather, through the range of data and the length of time I followed the teachers, I was able to both observe considerable change over time as well as investigate many possible influences on these teachers.

Chapter Four presents the conceptual framework I constructed as I analyzed the data and considered it in light of the sociocultural framework, Bakhtin's theories, and conceptual work on learning to teach and teacher education for social justice. As I make clear in this chapter, the framework both emerged from the data and was informed by ideas from the literature described above. In this chapter I explain the central argument of this dissertation—that learning to teach for social justice is an ideological struggle among several competing discourses. I outline several layers of discourse that teachers encounter as they learn to teach and describe how the interactions among these discourses influence teacher candidates/graduates process of learning to teach over time.

First, I describe the "master narratives" in education—currently, the most powerful narratives are the accountability narrative and the related narrative of meritocracy—that orbit around teacher education programs and K-12 schools and influence the discourses teachers encounter in these locations. I then describe what I call the "intermediate discourses" of an individual's entering and enduring beliefs, of the

teacher education program, and of the K-12 schools. I argue that the discourses that teachers bring with them to the process of learning to teach, and those they encounter along the way—in their pre-service programs and in the schools where they work—have a powerful but ever-changing influence on teachers as they develop their own unique perspective as teachers for social justice.

Finally, in this chapter, I outline the five general discourses of social justice, as I explain above. I describe how these discourses may become "internally persuasive" for the individual teacher through a process of ongoing interpretation, interrogation, and adaptation. The process of learning to teach for social justice that I describe in this chapter depends upon this interrogation—a teacher's development of an authentic perspective as a teacher for social justice requires wrestling with the general ideas of expectations, practice, race and equity, relationships, and responsibility, and interpreting these general ideas as they learn to teach and begin their practice. It is the process of ideological struggle that ultimately allows for authentic development.

Chapters Five and Six present two contrasting case studies of learning to teach over time. Each case study includes several years of data related to one of the two teachers whom I followed from 2005-present. These detailed and in depth case studies show how the experiences of the two teacher candidates played out very differently in their different contexts and, as such, makes the central arguments illustrated in the framework.

In Chapter Five, I analyze the experience of Lola Werner, who I argue was able to successfully manage the process of learning to teach as an ideological struggle. In Lola's case, she came to embrace the tensions and contradictions of teaching for social justice.

While at first she accepted various ideas related to the general discourses of social justice without much questioning, over time, she began to examine and question the ideas embedded in these discourses. This process of interrogation allowed her to develop a unique and authentic perspective as a teacher for social justice. I argue that Lola was able to be successful in this process because of her own resources but, more importantly, because of the significant support she received as she struggled to define her ideas, beliefs, and her practices as a teacher for social justice. Lola is now in her third year of teaching and she continues to struggle with the tensions among the discourses of social justice. As she does so, she continues to grow as a teacher.

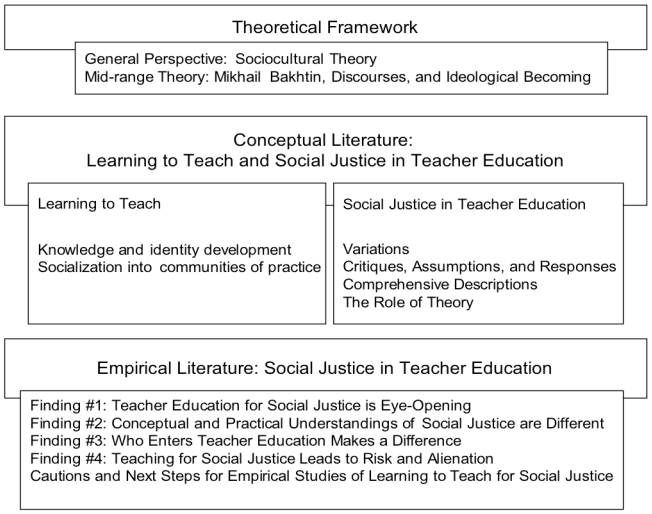
Chapter Six describes the case of Elsie Reynolds, whose experience learning to teach for social justice was quite different from Lola's. Whereas Lola had considerable support and resources to draw on as she struggled to define her ideology of teaching for social justice, Elsie was much more isolated and, ultimately, was unsuccessful learning to teach for social justice. Like Lola, Elsie struggled with the discourses of social justice as she attempted to interpret and adapt them to her teaching context. However, unlike Lola, she did not come to embrace the tensions within and among the discourses of social justice as productive. In fact, Elsie left teaching after a very trying first year. She had not, in that time, developed an authentic or sustaining perspective as a teacher for social justice and, in fact, questioned whether one could even work for social justice in the context of schooling. Elsie's case makes clear how critical a strong relationship between the teacher education program and the K-12 school can be in supporting a new teacher. It also highlights the need for ongoing mentoring and guidance as new teachers struggle to develop an authentic perspective as teachers for social justice.

Finally, in Chapter Seven, I conclude with a review of the central arguments of this dissertation and the implications of this work for research, policy, and practice. The findings from this dissertation suggest that, despite our current focus on systems of accountability that demand ever more simple and reductive evidence of success, in fact, success in teaching is complex, nuanced, and tentative. If we are to understand learning to teach and teaching for social justice, we must understand that simple answers are inadequate and do not capture what it really means to make a difference in students' lives. Rather, in our national conversation about teaching and learning, room must be made for the kind of complexity that the cases of these two teachers suggest.

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Investigating the experience of learning to teach in a program with a stated social justice agenda requires attention to several related areas of literature. As a result, there are three major components to this literature review. First, I provide an overview of the sociocultural perspective that guided the larger QCS project and this study and, specifically, the mid-range theory (Merton, 1967; Goetz & LeCompte, 1984) that informed my analyses. I then provide an overview of conceptual scholarship on learning to teach, and related to this, conceptual scholarship about the role of social justice in teacher preparation. I draw on the topics of learning to teach and social justice in teacher education to ground my own investigation in the larger body of research on learning to teach and social justice in teacher education. Finally, I review the empirical work related specifically to learning to teach for social justice and teacher education for social justice and identify four major findings. I also provide some cautions and suggestions for empirical work on learning to teach for social justice. Due to the many layers of conceptual and empirical scholarship that informs this study, Figure 2.1 provides a visual overview to help guide the reader.

Figure 2.1: Overview of Literature



Theoretical Perspective

The larger QCS study is grounded in a sociocultural perspective. Consistent with this sociocultural perspective, Mikhail Bakhtin's work on discourse and ideological becoming serves as a mid-range theory (Merton, 1967) that will inform my study. A mid-range theory is a useful analytic tool because it is closer to the observed data than a grand theory such as an overall sociocultural perspective, and therefore guides analysis of data in ways that general theories cannot. I describe both the general sociocultural perspective and the specific midrange theory in detail in the following pages.

Sociocultural Theory

In her recent introduction to the "learning to teach" section of the 3rd *Handbook of Research in Teacher Education* (eds. Cochran-Smith, Feiman-Nemser, McIntyre, and Demers, 2008), Sharon Feiman-Nemser suggested that "sociocultural theories are particularly useful in longitudinal studies of learning to teach because they focus on how the various settings in which teachers learn—university courses, student teaching, schools and classrooms, mentoring relationships—enable and constrain their adoption and use of new knowledge and practices and their ongoing learning" (p. 700). Sociocultural theory is particularly useful to the study proposed here because it draws on data from many settings and examines how teachers make sense of their experiences within these settings.

Sociocultural theory, rooted in ideas from cultural anthropology and ethnography, conceives of culture as a framework of values, beliefs, and symbols through which individuals see and act on the world (Geertz, 1973). It assumes that all social practices are based on some set of cultural ideas, beliefs, principles, and values, and are not neutral or value-free (Gee, 1996). When applied to teaching, schooling, and teacher education, these ideas suggest that beliefs about teachers, learners, schooling, and society are rooted in cultural ideas and beliefs. Thus an integral part of understanding how people learn to teach is uncovering the beliefs and value systems they develop over time and how these shape and are shaped by university and school contexts--the settings in which their learning takes place.

Sociocultural theory recognizes that teacher learning takes place in the context of a complex interplay of influences, among them teachers' prior experiences, teacher education coursework and field experiences, school-based contexts, and larger societal

contexts (McDonald, 2005). Cultural psychologist Lev Vygotsky (1986) argued that learning is inherently social, and therefore to understand individual development we must investigate the cultural contexts, or settings, in which the individual is located. As such, all learning involves a dynamic relationship between individuals and the cultural ideas and beliefs to which they are exposed in various settings.

Drawing on Vygotsky's ideas about the social nature of learning, Lave and Wenger (1991) proposed "situated learning," a model of learning that takes place within a community of practice. Situated learning is learning that is co-constructed among the participants in a particular setting—a school, a kitchen, a shop floor—and embedded in particular social and physical environments. Moreover, in this conception of learning, learning does not just take place in social settings, but rather, it is inherently social. In other words, what one learns is inextricably linked to where, how, and with whom one learns.

In exploring the social nature of learning, sociocultural theory focuses on understanding how people interact with the cultures they encounter and how they appropriate or modify cultural ideas and beliefs (Smagorinsky, Cook, Moore, Jackson, & Fry, 2004). In this view, culture is not an immutable way of life. Rather, it constantly evolves as various groups appropriate and transform culture. Eisenhart (2001) suggested that this idea of culture as evolving as individuals and groups interact within it has led to a conceptual shift away from culture and toward identity. Yet she argued that culture is still a concept worth investigating because, although not static, it continues to shape individuals. She explained:

> Individuals are not free to choose for themselves any view of the world, any way of acting in class, any definition of success, or any identity. In practice, such choices are constrained by intersubjective understandings of what is possible, appropriate, legitimate…they are constrained by culture and the enduring social structures that culture mediates (p. 215).

Applied to teacher education, this conception of culture as an ever-changing yet still relevant concept means understanding that teachers do not act in isolation, nor do they simply passively receive the knowledge and skills they need to teach. Rather, teachers are part of a social system that includes "the broad educational policy context, a community's vision of education, a school's mission toward realizing it, a curriculum through which to implement it, administrators invested in enforcing it, colleagues who help to establish it, students who have been socialized to participate in it, and other relationships" (Smagorinsky, et al. 2004, p. 9). As new teachers learn to teach, they are influenced both by the very local aspects of their work, including the students they teach and the colleagues with whom they interact, and the less tangible influences of the school-community beliefs, district mandates, and national educational policy. In addition, beginning teachers also encounter a range of perspectives within their particular teacher education program, including those of faculty, supervisors, and peers, as well as the host of influences they bring with them to their work. A sociocultural lens provides a way to explore both how teachers construct and are constructed by the different notions of teaching and social justice they encounter, and in turn how these ideas influence their actions, their students, and their colleagues.

Mikhail Bakhtin, Discourse, and Ideological Becoming

Within this larger sociocultural perspective, Russian philosopher and literary critic Mikhail Bakhtin's theories of discourse and ideological becoming provide a lens through which to investigate the competing influences on new teachers as they develop their understandings of teaching and their unique identities as teachers. Over the last several decades, Bakhtin's work has been the object of interest of Western social scientists and linguists. Although much of Bakhtin's work was originally published in the 1920s and 1930s, it was not until his work was translated into English in the 1970s and 1980s that his ideas about discourse and ideology became part of Western scholarship. Since then, many education scholars have taken up his ideas (e.g. Britzman, 1991; Miller Marsh, 2003; Gomez, Black, & Allen, 2007). His work is consistent with sociocultural theory in that, first, he understood language as inherently social and reciprocal and, second, he assumed that language, or discourse, emerges from social interaction and involves struggle (Maybin, 2001).

Although Bakhtin is associated with the Russian formalist movement and his work was largely related to literary theory, his ideas have obvious applications to understanding culture and society. Bakhtin's essay, *Discourse in the Novel*, examined the modern novel as a unique literary form that embraces several voices, or discourses, and therefore he argued that it must be understood as a more complex poetic form than its predecessors. He connected this critical perspective on multiple discourses in the novel to the role of language more generally in society. He argued that language creates meaning, culture, and individual identity. Many social languages, or discourses, always operate within society and, in turn, within the individual.

In the pages that follow, I review Bakhtin's ideas about discourse as they are relevant to this dissertation. I then turn specifically to his definitions of authoritative and internally persuasive discourses and ideological becoming, and relate these ideas to the process of learning to teach. I return to these issues again in Chapter 4, where I present the conceptual framework that guided my analyses.

The Social Nature of Discourse

Central to Bakhtin's idea of discourse is the sense that all language is social, and all speech involves the speaker and listener playing a role in the making of meaning. He (1986) argued:

> The fact is that when the listener perceives and understands the meaning (the language meaning) of speech, he simultaneously takes an active, responsive attitude toward it. He either agrees or disagrees with it (completely or partially), augments it, applies it (p. 68).

In choosing our words, he explained, we do not select them from the dictionary, neutral and value-free, but rather, we take our words from the "utterances" of others around us. Therefore we are always responding to what we have heard. Our individual speech is "filled with others' words" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 337), yet we assimilate the words and rework them to suit our meaning. We are also aware of the audience for our words and this too affects the meaning—aware of the possible responses, we choose our words with an audience in mind.

According to Bakhtin, the discourses with which individuals experiment represent a variety of social languages. These social languages are connected to specific cultural and professional groups and, in turn, represent particular belief systems. Discourses—of

the lawyer, the politician, and the public school teacher—differ not only in the words used, but also in the intentions behind the words. Making these languages one's own is not a simple or straightforward process. Rather, as Bakhtin (1981) explained:

> Language is not a neutral medium that passes freely and easily into the private property of the speaker's intentions; it is populated—overpopulated—with the intentions of others. Expropriating it, forcing it to submit to one's own intentions and accents, is a difficult and complicated process (p. 294).

This process of negotiating the various social languages one encounters is relevant to understanding the experience of new teachers. Teaching, like any professional culture, is full of ideas, beliefs, and concepts that novices must come to understand and integrate into their evolving understanding of their work. New teachers encounter a range of discourses in their teacher education program and in the professional culture of the K-12 schools, and have a difficult task in negotiating these discourses as they relate both to one another and to their own previous ideas, beliefs, and understandings.

Generally, critical studies of discourse reflect the idea that there are particular divisions in language that are determined by social and ideological differences, and that these differences are linked to issues of power and authority. For example, the well-known linguist and educational theorist, James Gee (2000), explained:

> Discourses are characteristic (socially and culturally formed, but historically changing) ways of talking and writing about, as well as acting with and toward, people and things. These ways are circulated and sustained within various texts, artifacts, images, social practices, and institutions, as well as in moment-to-moment social interactions. In turn, they cause certain perspectives and states of

> affairs to come to seem or be taken as "normal" or "natural" and others to seem or be taken as "deviant" or "marginal"(p. 197).

Gee understood discourse as fundamentally social but he also believed it occurred within social interactions that make some ideas "normal" and others deviant. In other words, he argued that all discourse is historically and socially located and related to the sources of power in society. Although Bakhtin's understanding of discourse also assumed that language is an inherently social phenomenon that defines meaning and informs action, it was Bakhtin's further delineation of discourses into those that are "authoritative" and those that are "internally persuasive" that more explicitly connected discourses to the relative power and authority embedded within them.

Bakhtin's Authoritative and Internally Persuasive Discourses

Bakhtin argued that the many discourses to which people are exposed as they develop their personal and professional identities are connected to larger "authoritative discourses." He referred to discourses of religious dogma, scientific truths, and the political status quo as "authoritative" in that these discourses resist the influence of other ideas and demand allegiance. He (1981) explained:

> The authoritative word demands that we acknowledge it, that we make it our own; it binds us, quite independent of any power it might have to persuade us internally; we encounter it with its authority already fused to it…It is a prior discourse. It is therefore not a question of choosing it from among other possible discourses that are its equal. It is a given (it sounds) in lofty spheres, not those of familiar contact. Its language is a special (as it were hieratic) language. It can be profaned. It is akin to taboo, i.e., a name that must not be taken in vain…. It enters

> our verbal consciousness as a compact and indivisible mass; one must either totally affirm it, or totally reject it. It is indissolubly fused with its authority—with political power, an institution, a person—and it stands and falls together with that authority (p. 342).

These discourses are external to the individual, fused with the sources of power in society, and inflexible to the influence of individuals who seek to change or modify them. In Chapter 4, I revisit the idea of authoritative discourse and how this idea may be relevant to understanding teacher education. In particular, the notion of social justice as an authoritative discourse in teacher education presents a particularly interesting paradox. In part, this study seeks to explore this paradox.

Bakhtin described "internally persuasive" discourses as essentially the opposite of authoritative discourses: these are discourses that are "denied all privilege" (Bakhtin, 1981). Rather than coming to the individual's awareness by way of some authority, internally persuasive discourses are words, ideas, and interpretations that the individual encounters as he interacts with others. These discourses are often neither backed by authority nor acknowledged by society, but they "beckon us to immerse ourselves" in them (Marsh, 2003). Individuals embrace these discourses as they develop their own belief system and worldview. Unlike authoritative discourses, the internally persuasive discourses are characterized by their mobility and flexibility. These discourses accompany the individual to new situations, where he may apply and adapt them, and wrest new meaning from them. They are open to interpretation and constantly evolving as the individual develops a stronger sense of his own ideology and beliefs.

It is important to emphasize that Bakhtin believed that the individual's relationship to these discourses is critical and interrogative; he does not simply appropriate other people's ideas and beliefs. Rather, a discourse becomes internally persuasive when the individual engages in a process in which "different ideas that embody diverse voices collide with each other in a dialogue that tests these ideas" (Matusov, 2007, p. 230). Internally persuasive discourses become a part of the individual's ideological consciousness as he struggles to determine his own ideological self. Therefore, the notion of the internally persuasive discourse is deeply connected to Bakhtin's theory of "ideological becoming."

Ideological Becoming

It is sometimes difficult to separate Bakhtin's concept of internally persuasive discourse from what he described as "ideological becoming", in that both involve the individual struggling with competing ideas and perspectives. Bakhtin (1981) explained that the internally persuasive discourse is connected to one's identity development:

> Internally persuasive discourse—as opposed to one that is externally authoritative—is, as it is affirmed through assimilation, tightly interwoven with "one's own word." In the everyday rounds of our consciousness, the internally persuasive word is half-ours and half-someone else's…such a word awakens new and independent words…it organizes masses of our words from within, and does not remain in an isolated and static condition. It is not so much interpreted by us as it is further, that is, freely, developed, applied to new material, new conditions; it enters into interanimating relationships with new contexts. More than that, it enters into intense interaction, a *struggle* with other internally persuasive

> discourses. Our ideological development is just such an intense struggle within us for hegemony among various available verbal and ideological points of view, approaches, directions, and values (p. 346).

Bakhtin described a dynamic and evolving process of identity development that depends upon negotiating the many discourses to which individuals are exposed and with which they struggle. Yet, he believed that the process of ideological becoming did not occur as soon as one was exposed to a range of discourses. In fact, the individual had to first be able to distinguish between the various discourses, and recognize his own relationship to the discourses, before he could begin the process of ideological becoming. Bakhtin (1981) explained:

> When thought begins to work in an independent, experimenting, an discriminating way, what first occurs is a separation between internally persuasive discourse and authoritarian enforced discourse, along with a rejection of those congeries of discourses that do not matter to us, that do not touch us (p. 345).

In other words, the ideological becoming of the individual depends upon becoming more critical and discriminating about the range of discourses to which one is exposed and recognizing how these discourses relate to each other and to one's own developing consciousness.

Bakhtin's concept of ideological becoming is particularly applicable to understanding the process of learning to teach. New teachers must confront questions about learning, knowledge, identity, equity, and justice, as they learn to teach. These issues come into contact with ideas, beliefs, and ideologies that the teachers carry with them from their families, their religion, and their own past experiences. In this dynamic

interplay among discourses, the development of a unique perspective and identity must emerge. Yet, this is no easy task. Bakhtin's description of ideological becoming reflects the difficult process of learning to teach—new teachers must "struggle to produce [their] own meaning" from the many voices that populate their own voice, and in so doing, establish a unique identity (Maybin, 2001, p. 67).

Bakhtin in Educational Scholarship

Within educational scholarship, Deborah Britzman (1991) was among the first to draw on Bakhtin's work in her critical ethnography of learning to teach, *Practice Makes Practice*. She drew from Bakhtin's ideas about identity and language to investigate the tumultuous and often contentious experience of learning to teach for two young teachers. Britzman (1991) characterized the process of learning to teach as a site of struggle within the individual, who must negotiate the "competing chronologies" of past experience, teacher education coursework, student teaching, and the first job (p. 56). Drawing on Bakhtin's idea that language is related to the process of becoming, she described learning to teach as a "struggle for voice" (p. 8) amid a range of past and present influences. She focused on the experience of student teaching because of the student teacher's unique position. Britzman explained:

> Marginally situated in two worlds, the student teacher as part student and part teacher has the dual struggle of educating others while being educated. Consequently, student teachers appropriate different voices in the attempt to speak for themselves yet all the while act in a largely inherited and constraining context. This struggle characterizes the tensions between being and becoming a

> teacher as student teachers draw from their past and present in the process of coming to know (p. 14).

Britzman argued that new teachers are caught between two, or more, worlds, and struggle to come to terms with the competing ideas about teaching, learning, and schooling to which they are exposed. Thus, the process of becoming for new teachers is dialogic in the sense that many discourses are in conversation within the new teacher as she learns to teach.

Yet, Britzman argued that the problem with most teacher education, and in turn research on learning to teach, is that it does not adequately investigate the inherent contradictions and struggle of learning to teach. In response, her book drew on Bakhtin's ideas about discourse and ideological becoming to explore the "polyphony of voices that mediate, persuade, and produce particular forms of practice and the concurrent discourses that legitimate or challenge them" (p. 14). In her view, learning to teach is influenced by several concurrent social worlds and the student teacher is the site of great struggle between the competing discourses of these different worlds.

It is important to clarify that, from this theoretical perspective, these tensions—and this struggle—are an essential part of learning to teach because "the process of ideological becoming involves social interaction by which individuals come into contact with 'the surrounding ideological world' and with social languages that may conflict with those with which they already are conversant" (Gomez, Black, & Allen, 2007, p. 2110). Thus, with exposure to a range of discourses, that represent different perspectives on teaching, learning, and schooling, the new teacher must consider her own ideological stance and perspective and, one hopes, find her own voice. It is this argument—that

learning to teach is a site of great struggle—that informed this study's exploration of the process of learning to teach in a social justice program. Chapter 4 describes this perspective in detail.

Bakhtin, Learning to Teach, and Teacher Education for Social Justice

Other educational scholars have taken up the idea of competing discourses, and the challenges of crafting an authentic identity in the context of the often contradictory worlds of teaching and learning to which new teachers are exposed in teacher education, at their schools, and in their own backgrounds (e.g. Danielewicz, 2001; Marsh, 2003; Gomez, Black, & Allen, 2007). Yet, although Bakhtin's ideas have penetrated research on learning to teach, his ideas are particularly appropriate for investigating learning to teach for social justice.

Bakhtin's ideas about discourse and ideological becoming are provocative for exploring teacher education for social justice in part because critics have argued that social justice-oriented teacher education indoctrinates students and is overtly ideological (e.g. Damon, 2005). This criticism might indicate that the ideas of social justice function as a kind of authoritative discourse within teacher education, while at the same time social justice serves as a persuasive discourse for many. Drawing from Bakhtin's ideas about discourse and ideological becoming as well as Britzman's (1991) description of this struggle, this study describes how teacher candidates/graduates in a program with a stated committed to social justice negotiated the "polyphony of voices" they encountered, and the tensions among the different voices, as they attempted to develop their own ideological perspective on teaching for social justice. I return to these ideas in greater

detail in Chapter 4. In the next section, I review conceptual scholarship about learning to teach and the role of social justice in teacher education.

Learning to Teach and Social Justice in Teacher Education: Conceptual Literature

There are two significant bodies of literature that are relevant to studying learning to teach for social justice: literature about learning to teach and literature about teacher education for social justice. I draw on scholarship in these areas to aid in understanding the experience of the participants in my study rather than to provide additional theoretical frames. Understanding the growing body of conceptual literature in both these areas is important to understanding where the proposed study fits into the larger discussion about learning to teach for social justice. In the following section, I first provide an overview of the relevant conceptual scholarship on learning to teach, and then turn to the conceptual literature on the topic of teacher education for social justice. In the final section of the literature review, I review empirical literature on learning to teach specifically related to teacher education with a social justice orientation.

Learning to Teach: Conceptual Scholarship

The focus on the process of learning to teach as a topic of conceptual and empirical investigation is now several decades old. In part, learning to teach as a program of research was a response to perceived shortcomings of the tradition of process-product research in teaching and teacher education that dominated the field up through the 1970's. In this tradition, the emphasis was on causal relationships between classroom conditions and student outcomes, seeking associations between, for example, teacher behaviors and student test scores (Shulman, 1986; Floden, 2001; Cochran-Smith & Fries, 2005). Critics of this approach were concerned that it provided a narrow behaviorist

perspective on teaching. Their argument was both that teaching is far more than observable classroom behaviors, and that focusing on causal relationships between teacher education approaches and subsequent teaching behaviors neglects the complexity of real life and the range of influences on teachers. In addition, whereas the studies in the process-product tradition might have been helpful in answering specific procedural and practical questions about what a teacher does in the classroom, critics argued that the research did not produce a coherent understanding of teaching and teacher education (Lanier & Little, 1986; Cochran-Smith & Fries, 2005). In response, in the last 25 years, literature on the topic of learning to teach has sought to define teaching as an intellectual activity in which teachers are knowledge constructors rather than recipients, and the relationships investigated between classroom conditions and student outcomes are understood to be complex and nuanced, rather than causal. Thus, learning to teach as a subject of study is consistent with a sociocultural perspective that seeks to describe and interpret a complex array of influences and contexts.

Sharon Feiman-Nemser's seminal chapter in *The Handbook of Teaching and Policy* (1983) described learning to teach as a process that begins long before formal teacher preparation and continues after teachers begin teaching in their own classrooms. Feiman-Nemser's efforts, combined with the scholarship of other prominent teacher educators, helped to move the field of teacher education research away from a linear, causal approach that focused on prescriptions for practice, and toward a more complex and qualitative approach to the process of learning to teach over time (Zumwalt, 1982; Feiman-Nemser, 1983; Lanier & Little, 1986). Since this early work, learning to teach has emerged as an important topic of conceptual and empirical study.

Twenty-five years later, in a chapter in the third *Handbook of Research on Teacher Education (*eds. Cochran-Smith, Feiman-Nemser, McIntyre, & Demers, 2008) Feiman-Nemser characterized the research on learning to teach around four themes: "learning to think like a teacher, learning to know like a teacher, learning to feel like a teacher, and learning to act like a teacher" (p. 698). She argued that this construction "underscores the interconnections of content, process, and contexts in learning to teach" (p. 698). This conception of learning to teach captures the beliefs, dispositions, knowledge, actions, and competencies that teachers exhibit, within particular environments, in their work. It also assumes that teachers' work involves cognitive and emotional skills, as well as well-considered practices.

Just as process-product research had its shortcomings, interpretive studies of learning to teach as a way of conceptualizing questions about teacher education also have their limitations. In their overview of traditions of research in teacher education, Cochran-Smith and Fries (2005) noted that the focus on teacher education as a "learning problem" neglects the impact of teachers' learning on their pupils. They explained:

> When teacher education is primarily constructed and studied as a learning problem, understanding teachers' knowledge and beliefs is considered an important research purpose in its own right, and there is often little or no attention to pupil achievement and the link between teachers' knowledge and beliefs and other desirable educational outcomes (p. 89).

Ironically, recent trends in research and policy seem to be returning us to the earlier process-product tradition as the focus has turned squarely toward measurable outcomes for pupils, perhaps at the expense once again of the more nuanced and contextual

understandings that have characterized the research on learning to teach. The difference this time around, as Cochran-Smith and Fries pointed out, is that the focus of this research is not on improvements to specific teacher education practices but rather, on influencing teacher preparation policy at the state and federal level. They further argued that although constructing research on teacher education as a policy problem has an important role in the current accountability climate, in so doing, research generally does not account for the range of contexts and experiences that influence prospective teachers. Thus they argued that it is critical that research on teacher education continues to investigate teachers' beliefs, knowledge, and experiences, as well as the conditions in which they learn to teach and the impact they have on their pupils.

For the purposes of this review, I divide the conceptual work on learning to teach into two categories: learning to teach as knowledge and identity development and learning to teach as socialization into communities of practice. There are many ways to organize the work on learning to teach, and the categories I propose are only one way of organizing the diverse literature in this area. These categories are not intended to imply that these are discrete phenomena. Rather, in the spirit of sociocultural theory, I mean for them to be understood as overlapping and interrelated. I delineate these ideas in the pages that follow.

Learning to Teach as Knowledge and Identity Development

In this section, I outline some of the major ideas about teacher knowledge, beliefs, attitudes, and identity. In much of the literature about the knowledge needed for teaching, knowledge is understood to include self-knowledge, attitudes, and beliefs in addition to formal pedagogical and content knowledge. In turn, in scholarship that examines

teachers' attitudes and beliefs related to learning to teach, the relationship between formal knowledge and beliefs is a central focus. Therefore, although some researchers emphasize knowledge as their main construct while others focus on beliefs or identity, in fact there is considerable overlap among these ideas. Therefore, I include them in the same basic category here. First, I discuss conceptions of knowledge, demonstrating how authors have defined the knowledge teachers need to teach well and how this knowledge relates to the process of learning to teach. Then, I review some of the literature that has focused on attitudes, beliefs, and identity, and discuss the contribution of this work to understanding the process learning to teach.

Knowledge. Prior to the 1980s, when scholars moved from researching what behaviors teachers ought to exhibit to what knowledge teachers have and how it develops, most of the research on teacher learning relied upon a "banking" or "transmission" approach (Wideen, Mayer-Smith, & Moon, 1998; Olsen, 2008). This approach presumed that learning is a primarily cognitive and individual endeavor, in which the information is provided and the individual learns it and applies it to appropriate situations. Some have argued that this is the model that drives most traditional teacher education programs (Britzman, 1991; Olsen, 2008). Olsen (2008) explained:

> Such a theoretical view under girds the loosely assembled bundle of conceptions, curricula, and sequence considered the mainstream model of twentieth-century teacher education in the United States: Pre-service teachers learn theories and teaching approaches in university classrooms for a semester and then try out and internalize those theories in some kind of teaching practicum…this programmatic approach, though, rests on two shaky theoretical premises: that learning takes

> place primarily in the mind of the individual learner, and that knowledge transfers relatively intact (p. 18).

Olsen critiqued this approach to teacher learning because it presumes that theory for teaching comes from the university, that the knowledge transfers directly, and that it is separable from context. Similarly, Deborah Britzman (1991) criticized the compartmentalization of knowledge that characterizes much teacher education and argued that this kind of fragmented knowledge, divorced from identity and from practice, "separates knowledge for experience and experience from the knower" (p. 35). Moving away from this transmission approach, scholars have attempted to define the knowledge needed for teaching and how it develops by relating knowledge, beliefs, and practices and examining how these different elements interact in the process of learning to teach.

In order to understand how scholars have explained the process of knowledge development, it is first important to understand how knowledge for teaching has been defined. Many educational scholars have argued for complex conceptions of teachers' knowledge, that move beyond thinking of knowledge in terms of a set of theories to transmit. Munby, Russell, and Martin's (2001) review of teachers' knowledge charted the range of ways that scholars have conceptualized the knowledge necessary for teaching and how it develops. They argued that there is a central tension in discussions of teachers' knowledge between the general idea that knowledge is propositional and the fact that teachers develop practical knowledge that is grounded in their particular experiences. They explained that this central tension between the "formal knowledge" for teaching and the experiential or practical knowledge acquired in teaching has pervaded efforts to describe and define knowledge.

In their review, the authors described the work of scholars to redefine knowledge and bridge this theory and practice divide. For example, they cited Carter's (1990) chapter from the first *Handbook of Research on Teacher Education* as the beginning of the transition from a propositional conception of knowledge to both a more practical and comprehensive approach to knowledge development. She argued for a definition of knowledge that is grounded in the practical day-to-day work of teachers, referencing the work of Elbaz (1983), whose concept of practical knowledge, based on the experiences of teachers, included five categories: knowledge of self; knowledge of the milieu of teaching; subject matter knowledge; knowledge of curriculum development; and knowledge of instruction. Munby, Russell, and Martin (2001) also drew on Grimmett and MacKinnon's (1992) notion of "craft knowledge" as yet another example of how teacher knowledge has been defined far beyond propositional knowledge. "Craft knowledge", rather than relying on a set of disembodied theories about teaching, is based on teachers' judgments of what occurs in practice. This type of knowledge relies on teachers' ability to reflect and learn from experience.

In a similar vein, Munby, Russell, and Martin (2001) described scholars' attempts to construct an image of content knowledge that also connects practical knowledge for teaching and formal subject matter knowledge. For example, they cited Shulman's (1987) "pedagogical content knowledge" that bridges standard subject matter knowledge with the professional knowledge that teachers have about how to teach. They also referenced Grossman (1990) who, following Shulman's lead, constructed an image of knowledge for teaching that both draws on the idea of subject specific and pedagogical knowledge and extends this knowledge to include personal knowledge as a fundamental filter through

which the teacher constructs knowledge to teach. Together, these many efforts by scholars to define the knowledge needed for teaching, such that it includes theoretical or propositional knowledge, as well as experiential, personal, and practical knowledge, radically alter the concept of a static knowledge base that can be transmitted to prospective teachers through teacher education coursework.

Cochran-Smith and Lytle (1999), in their seminal piece on knowledge and teaching, linked ideas about the knowledge needed for teaching with ideas about the ways it might develop. They offered three distinct understandings of knowledge: "knowledge for practice", "knowledge in practice", and "knowledge of practice." These conceptions of knowledge map onto the discussion above in that "knowledge for practice" is linked to the transmission approach to learning, in which a particular knowledge base for teaching is conveyed to prospective teachers who are expected to receive and enact this knowledge. "Knowledge in practice" is related to practical or craft knowledge in that this is the knowledge that occurs in action. In this conception, knowledge is acquired through experience, in the every day act of teaching. The final conception, "knowledge of practice" neither accepts the distinction between formal and practical knowledge, nor accepts the idea of a static body of knowledge itself. Rather, the concept "knowledge of practice" demands that teachers engage in ongoing inquiry into their knowledge, their practice, and their assumptions. Cochran-Smith and Lytle (1999) explained:

> The knowledge-of-practice conception turns on the assumption that knowledge teachers need to teach well emanates from systematic inquiries about teaching, learners and learning, subject matter and curriculum, and schools and schooling…The image of knowledge here is not narrow or technical, nor is the

> goal of inquiry taken to be production of "findings" but rather the raising of fundamental questions about curriculum, teachers' roles, and the ends as well as the means of schooling (p. 274).

Cochran-Smith and Lytle described knowledge about teaching neither as a collection of information or a set of skills that are easily transmitted or categorized. Rather, knowledge-of-practice is the ongoing act of critically examining ideas and practices and constructing knowledge throughout a teaching career. In this influential chapter, the authors extended the discussion about knowledge to uncover some of the assumptions underlying different conceptions of knowledge and, importantly, to consider the processes by which teachers' knowledge develops.

Olsen's (2008) work on knowledge development in learning to teach draws on the complex images of knowledge described above. His book bridges scholarship that concentrated on understanding the knowledge needed for teaching and how it develops with scholarship that centered on the role of values, beliefs, and identity in learning to teach. In so doing, his work illustrates the interrelated nature of knowledge and identity in learning to teach. He constructed an image of the knowledge teachers develop that includes formal theory and research, informal prior and current influences, and the current contexts. He explained, "It is this collection of past and present, personal and informal influences—this clipboard of general dispositions, feelings, goals, and memories—that constitutes teacher knowledge as it ought to be constructed" (p. 26). Thus, Olsen's image of teacher knowledge development connects knowledge learned in formal settings with personal identity, as well as the impact of context.

In addition to his conception of knowledge development, Olsen offered three ways of categorizing the experience in teacher education as it relates to previous knowledge, values, and beliefs of teacher candidates. He argued that teacher education can be a "confirmatory experience" in that the knowledge from teacher education can confirm previously held values and beliefs. Confirmatory experiences occur when the teacher candidate's incoming disposition aligns with the goals and practices of the program. In contrast, teacher education can be a "disconfirmatory experience" in that the teacher education learning can be "wholly rejected" (p. 28) because it contradicts the teacher candidate's previous way of knowing and understanding. Finally, teacher education can be an "appropriating experience." This third option occurs when the teacher candidate interprets teacher education learning as neither directly opposing nor completely compatible with the teacher's prior conceptions. In this case, the teacher candidate may take part of the information from teacher education, and "attaches it to the gestalt such that the new product becomes a prior conception strengthened or altered by this new information" (p. 28). In essence, the teacher candidate filters the information through whatever prior knowledge and experience he or she has, and applies the new information to that previous knowledge, in ways that may misinterpret the new information. Olsen's work clearly illustrates the interdependence of knowledge and identity; all the knowledge from teacher education is filtered through new teachers' own prior beliefs and personal experiences. Thus, the knowledge that emerges is unique to the individual. Olsen concluded that an ideal experience of learning to teach would create opportunities for candidates to "interrogate their own assumptions and enter into

knowledge conflicts while interacting with programmatic conceptions and alternative beliefs" (p. 133).

Olsen used the phrase "knowledge conflicts" to refer to the tensions that teacher candidates experience between their previous or personal knowledge and the information and learning they encounter in teacher education. This phrase highlights the way in which scholarship on learning to teach has defined knowledge broadly to include theoretical knowledge, practical knowledge, and personal knowledge, as well as beliefs and values. As teachers learn to teach, all of this acts on their developing conceptions and practices, and can be useful to their learning.

Identity. Some scholars, like Olsen, have approached the question of the role of teacher identity by incorporating knowledge of self into their descriptions of the knowledge teachers need to teach (e.g. Elbaz, 1983; Grossman, 1995). However, others have focused more closely on attitudes and beliefs, and more recently on identity as the main constructs to explore related to learning to teach. Scholars such as Carter and Doyle (1996), Richardson (1996), and Rodgers and Scott (2008) have explored the ways in which beliefs, attitudes, and identity interact with and inform the process of learning to teach.

In their chapter in the *Handbook of Research on Teacher Education* (eds. Sikula, Buttery, & Guyton), Carter and Doyle (1996), in keeping with many of the scholars described above, argued that becoming a teacher is not a process of learning a specific set of behaviors or receiving a core set of knowledge. Rather, becoming a teacher is about "(a) transforming an identity, (b) adapting personal understandings and ideals to institutional realities, and (c) deciding how to express one's self in classroom activity" (p.

139). They promoted the use of narrative research and teachers' biographies to chart the professional careers of teachers and lend insight into the process of learning to teach. They, like many other scholars (Zeichner & Gore, 1990; Richardson, 1996; Wideen, Mayer-Smith, & Moon, 1998), indicated that the influence of teacher education is often overpowered by the influences of the many years of observation that precede teacher education, the power of personal history, and the influence of student teaching and the early years of teaching. Thus they argued that understanding teachers' biographies and personal beliefs is vital to understanding how teachers come to understand teaching. Further, they contended that investigating the self is an essential part of learning to teach.

In her chapter in the same *Handbook of Research on Teacher Education* (eds. Sikula, Buttery, & Guyton), Virginia Richardson (1996) explored the impact of attitude and beliefs on learning to teach. Similar to Carter and Doyle's conclusions, her review of the literature indicated that prospective teachers' personal histories and previous experiences with schooling lead them to hold strong beliefs about teaching, learning, and learners when they enter teacher preparation, and she cited many studies that find these beliefs to be fairly hardy and resistant to change. Richardson argued that preservice teacher education seems to be "a weak intervention…sandwiched between two powerful forces—previous life history, particularly that related to being a student, and classroom experience as a student and student teacher" (p. 113). However, she also recognized two caveats to this finding. First, she referred to research that suggests a "lag time" (Crow, 1987) between when teachers start teaching and when the learning that occurred in teacher education starts to make an impact on their teaching. Second, she pointed to research on teacher staff development that found that when staff development makes

teachers' beliefs and understandings a central part of the discussion, this can have the potential to change both beliefs and teaching practice. Rather than introducing a particular method, this type of professional development intends to engage teachers in ongoing conversations about teaching. Richardson argued that, through this process, professional development has the potential to change beliefs and practices. She acknowledged that this is more difficult in teacher education because prospective teachers have limited classroom experience to draw on in considering how their beliefs will play out in teaching. Still, she argued for teacher education programs to actively engage teacher candidates in exploration of their own beliefs as well as alternative perspectives.

More recent work on teachers' attitudes and beliefs, or the "inner life" of teachers (Rodgers & Scott, 2008, p. 732) has moved toward discussion of teacher identity. Rodgers and Scott's (2008) chapter in the third *Handbook of Research on Teacher Education* (eds. Cochran-Smith, Feiman-Nemser, McIntyre, & Demers) showed how the contribution of critical theory over the last ten years has deepened the field's understanding of the role of self and identity in learning to teach. The authors described four major assumptions underlying contemporary conceptions of identity. First, identity is dependent upon and formed within many contexts, and is influenced by social, cultural, political, and historical realities. Second, identity is formed in relationships and involves emotion. Third, identity is not static; rather, it is "shifting" and "multiple." Finally, identity is constructed and reconstructed over time, through the stories people tell. These assumptions indicate that knowledge and context interact with identity as a person learns to teach.

The authors further argued that embedded in these four assumptions is an "implicit charge" to teachers to become aware of their identity and the contexts, relationships, and emotions that help produce their identities. Drawing from developmental psychology, the authors suggested that how teachers makes sense of and construct their identities is dependent on their particular developmental stage. Citing Kegan's (1982, 1994) five developmental stages, they argued that teachers' capacity to respond to the charge to develop identity awareness is mediated by their developmental stage. They explained:

> Kegan's view of an evolving self sheds new light on the literature of teacher identity. It helps to illuminate the varying capacities of teachers to respond to the calls that they: (1) become aware of their identities and the political, historical, and social forces that shape them; (2) assume agency, find their voice, and take the authority to shape their own professional paths and identities. Clearly these calls assume that these teachers are self-authoring in their developmental orientation; in fact, this claim may put teachers at risk for being "in over their heads" (Kegan, 1994). Nevertheless, what is revealed is that there is a hidden developmental expectation that teachers do, in fact, possess these developmental capacities (p. 742).

They argued that teacher education must pay closer attention to the "goodness of fit" (p. 743) between teacher education's developmental demands and the capacities of students. Interestingly, they further complicated the charge to develop self-awareness by indicating that not all share the belief that teachers' development of self is a worthy goal. Rather, they suggested that some K-12 schools, as indicated in some of the research that follows

in the section on teacher education for social justice, do not value personal development but rather, prefer that teachers allow the system to define them. The authors explained, "Teachers who enter the system hoping to define their role may be at risk for a developmental mismatch between themselves and the context in which they find themselves teaching" (p. 751). Therefore, they concluded that teacher education has the added task of helping novice teachers learn to negotiate such a system in ways that are productive professionally and personally, for themselves and K-12 pupils. Rodgers and Scott asserted that identity development varies based both on the capacities of prospective teachers' and on the contexts they encounter in schools. Learning to teach, they argued, must account for the developmental stage of teacher candidates and, as will be discussed in the next section, the K-12 school contexts in which learning takes place.

Together, the authors who have concentrated on the role of attitudes, beliefs, values, and identity in learning to teach share a common perspective that teacher educators must pay attention to the students who enter teacher education, and provide opportunities for investigations of personal beliefs, values, and identity as part of the process of learning to teach. They argue that whether or not the opportunities exist in teacher education to explore personal beliefs and identity, teacher candidates will draw on their values and experiences in the process of learning to teach. Therefore, teacher education will be more effective if it makes this exploration explicit and deliberate.

Efforts over the last 25 years to describe the process of learning to teach rejected the transmission approach in favor of a more sociocultural perspective that acknowledged learning to teach as a complex process. Learning to teach is understood to be a process of knowledge and identity development in which formal knowledge, including subject

specific knowledge, pedagogical knowledge, and theoretical knowledge interact with the personal, experiential and self-knowledge that teachers bring to their work. These various aspects of knowledge constantly interact with teachers' values, beliefs, and attitudes as they seek to develop their personal and professional identity. Yet, all of this development does not occur in a vacuum. Rather, teachers learn to teach within specific contexts. In the next section, I discuss socialization into teaching and what role that plays in the process of learning to teach.

Learning to Teach as Socialization

Learning to teach ultimately must be measured by how well teachers can put into action what they have learned. Yet, how teachers enact what they have learned in teacher education is mediated by the realities they face when they enter the schools. Adaptation to the teaching context, including the culture of the classroom, the organizational structure of the school, and the larger social context, is essential to success (Feiman-Nemser & Floden, 1986; Kennedy, 2006). Thus, learning to teach can also be understood as a process of socialization as teachers adapt to the teaching context. Several scholars have explored the role of socialization in teachers' development. I outline some of the main ideas here.

Socialization into teaching, in fact, begins long before teachers enter formal preparation programs. Several scholars have pointed to the powerful socialization that occurs while prospective teachers are still students themselves (Lortie, 1975; Feiman-Nemser, 1983; Zeichner & Gore, 1990; Richardson & Placier, 2001). Teachers' own schooling experiences, often referred to as "the apprenticeship of observation" (Lortie, 1975), exert a lasting influence as the thousands of hours that they spent observing their

own teachers continues to influence how they perceive and enact the teaching role. In addition, some authors have drawn on a psychoanalytic perspective to highlight the impact of important early relationships with adults on teachers' conceptions of the role of a teacher (Feiman-Nemser, 1983). In general, socialization into teaching has deep roots for individuals in their own schooling experiences and personal history.

In contrast to the research that demonstrates the significant influence of these early experiences, the influence of formal teacher education is often shown to be less profound. For example, although teacher education may promote particular ideas about teaching and learning, research indicates that new teachers tend to maintain beliefs they brought with them to their training programs (Richardson, 1996; Feiman-Nemser & Remillard, 1996; Richardson & Placier, 2001; Wideen, Mayer-Smith, & Moon, 1998; Rodgers & Scott, 2008). In addition, while methods courses may promote specific teaching approaches or skills, continued use of these skills is highly dependent on the amenability of the teaching context to these approaches (Zeichner & Gore, 1990; Smagorinsky, Cook, & Johnson, 2003). Further, teacher candidates may interpret what they learn from teacher education in ways that support or solidify these pre-existing beliefs, even if this leads to a corruption of the ideas from teacher education (Zeichner & Gore, 1990; Richardson & Placier, 2001; Olsen, 2008).

Although the general tone of this work suggests that teacher education attempts, perhaps unsuccessfully, to disrupt previously held and generally conservative ideas about teaching, Feiman-Nemser and Floden (1986) questioned the common wisdom that the ideas new teachers encountered in schools contradicted the messages from teacher education. Rather, they cited some evidence that the context of universities in general,

and teacher education specifically, despite liberal rhetoric, in fact promote a fairly conservative image of education. Similarly, Zeichner and Gore (1990) suggested that more work was needed to uncover the "hidden curriculum" in teacher education and the ways the messages, both explicit and implicit, are understood and interpreted by teacher candidates. As the empirical work cited in this proposal demonstrates, since Zeichner & Gore's (1990) call for it almost 20 years ago, some efforts have been made to describe more clearly the particular ideas promoted in teacher education and the impact of these ideas on teacher candidates (e.g., Smagorinsky, Cook, & Johnson, 2003; McDonald, 2005). However, research that investigates the overall message of a teacher education program, or its hidden curriculum, continues to be fairly rare.

In contrast to the relatively weak socializing influence of teacher education, K-12 school have a strong role in new teacher socialization. When teachers enter a school, they must adapt to the language, behaviors, and expectations of the particular school. How this socialization occurs is dependent on the particular school context—in some schools, the socialization is conducted in an environment that promotes a sense of belonging and mutual assistance. In other contexts, teachers are isolated and left to their own devices (Richardson & Placier, 2001). Regardless of the school culture, the new teacher often looks to colleagues for clues about the acceptability of particular practices and attitudes toward students (Feiman-Nemser & Floden, 1986). Grossman, Smagorinsky, and Valencia (1999) described the appropriation of particular practices as "the process through which a person adopts the pedagogical tools available for use in a particular social environment" and "through this process [the new teacher] internalizes ways of thinking endemic to specific cultural practices" (p. 15). Although the authors

acknowledged several degrees of adaptation from the teacher who does not adapt at all to one who achieves mastery of the setting's particular concepts and practices, many teachers in the adaptation process do embrace the underlying assumptions of particular practices, and are thus socialized into the norms of the setting.

In addition to the general influence of the K-12 school, K-12 students have long been recognized for the powerful role they play in socializing new teachers (Richardson & Placier, 2001). Due to the cellular nature of schools and teachers' frequent isolation with students, students play a critical role in teachers' developing understanding of teaching (Lortie, 1975; Feiman-Nemser & Floden, 1986; Zeichner & Gore, 1990). Teachers often engage in negotiation with students over classroom practices, sometimes lowering expectations and demands in exchange for a calm and orderly environment (Metz, 1990; McQuillan, 1998; Kennedy, 2006). Thus, students may socialize novice teachers in ways that contradict the ideals that attracted teachers to the profession and/or were promoted in their teacher preparation program.

Socialization also occurs in less local and easily identifiable ways. While the impact of colleagues and students on new teachers is fairly easily observed, additional influences are less direct. For example, parents and communities always play a role in new teacher socialization, although this role is not always observable. Zeichner and Gore (1990) suggested that the local community exerts pressure on teachers, either directly in the case of high status communities or, in lower status schools, through the students as agents of the parents and community. Therefore, the local social context plays a role in teacher socialization. Furthermore, though not always obvious, the impact of district, state, and federal education policy on teaching is also present. In the current national

climate of high stakes testing and the requirements associated with meeting annual yearly progress, teachers face considerable pressure to teach in ways that support these goals (Wood, 2004).

In recent years, there have been a number of key investigations about the kinds of communities new teachers encounter in schools and the impact of these particular communities on teachers' developing understanding of teaching and on their practice. The notion of "communities of practice" (Lave and Wenger, 1991), grounded in sociocultural theory, has been fruitful in considering how school culture influences teacher learning. Communities of practice establish particular norms and procedures that influence the individuals who participate in the community. In keeping with Richardson's (1996) observation about effective staff development and Cochran-Smith and Lytle's (1999) notion of knowledge-of-practice grounded in ongoing learning communities, Westheimer (2008) argued that ongoing professional learning communities dramatically strengthen instructional innovation, increase intellectual inquiry among teachers, promote teacher leadership, increase new teacher learning and retention, and advance social justice and democracy. Specifically related to new teacher learning, Westheimer (2008) explained, "New teachers require connections to veteran teachers in order to succeed in their first few years; and…most new and veteran teachers alike require a greater sense of connection and community to achieve the kind of personal and professional satisfaction that will keep them in the profession" (p. 765). He referenced Susan Moore Johnson and the Project on the Next Generation of Teachers (2004), who found that the professional culture of the school had a profound influence on new teachers' decisions about staying at the school and in teaching. Specifically, Johnson describes "integrated professional

cultures" in which novice and veteran teachers participate in learning communities that promote shared inquiry. As researchers have come to accept the power of the K-12 school to influence new teachers' learning, interest has shifted to what specific kinds of school cultures promote ongoing learning and development.

The conceptual scholarship on learning to teach attempts to disentangle the role that knowledge development, personal identity, and context play in the process of becoming a teacher. As such, it derives from sociocultural frameworks that seek to explore phenomena, uncover complexity, and understand the relationships among many interrelated factors. Acknowledging the complexity of learning to teach also makes it difficult to tease out the specific elements and, in trying to do so, can lead to over-simplification. For example, the work on identity in learning to teach indicates that personal experiences play a powerful role in developing understandings of teaching. Similarly, the socialization that occurs when teachers are still students, or the "apprenticeship of observation" (Lortie, 1975), influences new teachers' ideas and practices. These concepts—personal experiences and the apprenticeship of observation—are deeply entangled. Therefore, categorizing the process of learning to teach as a heuristic device, thus separating personal identity from the socialization that occurs in particular environments, or from the knowledge that one brings to teaching, runs the risk of simplifying the experience of learning to teach. In fact, these ideas are intertwined and are only divided conceptually; in new teachers' experiences, they cannot divide so easily the knowledge, personal identity, and contexts that influence their developing understanding of teaching. This study seeks to investigate that complexity and attempt to understand without simplifying it.

However, current national policies threaten to return us to a narrow understanding of teaching, focused on measurable outcomes, and reminiscent of the process-product tradition. In turn, the task of preparing teachers is in danger of relying again on behaviorist prescriptions of practice or, in common parlance, "best practices" that all teachers acquire, rather than drawing on the intellectual and personal characteristics of prospective teachers and relating these to the contexts where they learn. Current efforts to utilize "evidence-based practices" in the K-12 curriculum imply that teaching is a series of calibrated behaviors that the practitioner must learn to employ, devoid of context or personal judgment. Cochran-Smith and Fries (2005) referred to the current trend in teacher education research as a focus on policy, in which research is employed instrumentally as a tool for defending or critiquing the enterprise of teacher education altogether. Thus, it is critical that educational researchers continue to investigate the process of learning to teach, attending to the complex interplay of knowledge, identity, and context that inform how teachers learn to teach. The future of teacher preparation depends on these continued efforts.

Teacher Education for Social Justice: Conceptual Scholarship

In addition to conceptual literature on learning to teach, a more specific body of teacher education scholarship has focused on the ideas and practices related to the goal of preparing teachers to teach for social justice. This study is intended to examine learning to teach as it occurs in a program with a stated social justice agenda. To do so, it is critical to review the major conceptual literature related to teacher education for social justice. In this section, I review the various ways that scholars in teacher education have envisioned the goal of preparing teachers to teach for social justice. Because the emphasis

on social justice in teacher education has been the subject of considerable attention in recent years, I also review some of the major critiques, the assumptions underlying these critiques, and responses from teacher educators who advocate social justice. I conclude with discussion of recent work that has attempted to define more clearly the theoretical foundations of teacher education committed to social justice as well as the particular practices and institutional structures that support a social justice-oriented program.

Social Justice in Teacher Education: Variations

The theme of social justice in teacher education incorporates ideas from multicultural education, critical theory, care theory, anti-racist education, and critical race theory (Wiedeman, 2002), as well as ideas of inquiry, critical reflection, activism, advocacy, and democratic education. At its most basic level, teaching for social justice focuses on improving the learning and life chances of all children, particularly those who have traditionally been marginalized (Ladson-Billings, 1994; Cochran-Smith, 1999, 2004b; Michelli & Keiser, 2005; Villegas, 2007). However, beyond this basic argument, those who have written about the role of social justice in teacher education have emphasized different goals, leading critics to conclude that the notion of social justice in teacher education is ambiguous.

One reason for the different perspectives on social justice in teacher education is that researchers from different arenas have contributed to this topic. Scholars of multicultural education, culturally responsive pedagogy, and critical race theory often use the language of social justice. In fact, several scholars have made explicit links between the tradition of multicultural education and social justice in teacher education (Cochran-Smith, 1998; McDonald & Zeichner, in press). The emphasis in this work is on preparing

culturally responsive practitioners. These practitioners are described as teachers with knowledge of cultural diversity, who learn about their students, include diverse content in the curriculum, create a caring and communicative classroom, respond to the diversity of students in instructional practices, and see themselves as capable of and responsible for making schools more equitable (Sleeter & Grant, 1987; Ladson-Billings, 1999; Gay, 2002; Villegas & Lucas, 2002; Grant & Gillette, 2006). However, only some scholars in these areas emphasize social justice. For example, Sleeter & Grant's (1987) seminal analysis of multicultural education in the United States outlined five different types of multicultural education. Their typology also served as a critique of the majority of multicultural education for its lack of attention to issues of social justice. The fifth type of education they described, education that is multicultural and social reconstructionist, is most closely linked to the central tenets of social justice. The emphasis is on examining structural inequities and promoting social action rather than simply promoting cultural difference or learning to appreciate diversity. Although the authors did not specifically reference teacher preparation, their work has been influential in theorizing about the relationship between multicultural education and social justice in teacher preparation. In other words, teacher education focused on social justice draws considerably from the work on multicultural education and culturally responsive teaching, but some argue that it goes beyond much of this work in that it actively addresses structural inequities that affect students and schools.

Similar to Sleeter & Grant's social reconstructionist multicultural education, promoting social action has been the focus of some scholarship in teacher education for social justice. For example, Michelli and Keiser (2005) described teacher education for

democracy and social justice in terms of promoting civic knowledge and civil engagement. They argued, "Preparing students for democracy means preparing them to see the problematic and to act on it. We need them to be active, not passive; engaged, not bored" (Michelli & Keiser, 2005, p. 7). In their version of teaching for social justice, teachers teach students their rights and the skills to critically question these rights and act on this learning. Westheimer and Kahne (2004), though not directly focused on teacher education, studied civics programs that promote democratic citizenship. They concluded that an activist stance is necessary to promote social justice. Describing three types of citizenship education, they made clear that the only type that truly fulfills the objectives of social justice is the type that involves critical thinking, analysis of structural inequities, and action. They argued that most civics programs promote "citizenship without politics—a commitment to service but not to democracy" and warned that, "personal responsibility, voluntarism, and character education must be considered in a broader social context or they risk advancing civility or docility instead of democracy" (p. 244). Although Westheimer and Kahne focused on civics education, rather than teacher education, they advocated preparing teachers who are able to promote critical inquiry and action.

Although advocates of teacher education committed to social justice goals argue that activism is a critical part of what it means to teach for social justice, there is a range of perspectives about what this activism should be. For example, Peter McLaren has emphasized the role of critical theory and pedagogy in the classroom, arguing that teachers who are activists understand schooling through the lens of the capitalist enterprise. He has suggested that, in the struggle for social justice, teachers must

recognize the oppressive nature of schooling in our capitalist society, and increasingly in a global society, and practice counter-hegemonic teaching (McLaren, 1998; McLaren & Farahmandpur, 2001).

Others have made explicit the role of teachers as activists outside the classroom. For example, Cochran-Smith (1998) argued, "Part of teaching for social change is deliberately and publicly claiming the role of activist as well as educator based on political consciousness and ideological commitment to diminishing inequities in American life…and struggle with others in larger arenas to try to do something about them" (p. 930). Thus, teachers work for social justice both in and beyond the classroom to challenge the inequities they witness.

At the institutional level, several researchers have argued for teacher education to make active involvement in communities a central aspect of the work of preparing teachers to teach for social justice (Oakes, Franke, Quartz, & Rogers, 2002; Michelli & Keiser, 2005). For example, Ken Zeichner has critiqued teacher education programs for their lack of connection to the communities where many teachers work and has argued that the "center of gravity" of teacher education needs to shift from the university to the community. Despite different perspectives on how activism is enacted, a common idea shared by all those who promote activism is the sense that teaching alone will not be enough to rectify the inequities that many children face in their schools and communities. Thus, working both within and outside the classroom and in collaboration with other social movements is part of the work of teaching for social justice. Yet, as the empirical literature review will show, these ideas about activism are not so clearly enacted in the practices of teacher education coursework and programs.

Those who have written about the goals and practices of social justice in teacher education emphasize many different ideas. However, these different conceptions of social justice, such as an emphasis on issues of cultural relevance or on democratic engagement, do not necessarily contradict. In fact, many of the ideas represented here are compatible with one another. Yet, how authors choose to focus their remarks and the space they give to different aspects of social justice varies. In this difference, and the ambiguity it creates, teacher education committed to social justice becomes vulnerable to criticism from both within and outside the field of teacher education. In the next section, I outline some of the common critiques of teacher education oriented toward social justice, the assumptions underlying these critiques, and the counter-response from those who have attempted to conceptualize social justice.

Social Justice in Teacher Education: Critiques, Assumptions, and Responses

The idea of social justice as a guiding principle of teacher education has been the subject of considerable controversy in recent years, as it has become an idea both more popular and more vulnerable to criticism. In a chapter in the forthcoming *Handbook of Social Justice in Education* (ed. W. Ayers, T. Quinn, & D. Stovall, in press), we (Cochran-Smith, Barnatt, Lahann, Shakman, & Terrell) describe four overlapping critiques: the ambiguity, the knowledge, the ideology, and the free speech critique. The latter three critiques are closely connected. In short, these three overlapping critiques contend that a focus on social justice neglects rigorous academic study and subject matter learning in favor of promoting self-esteem, cultural awareness, and political ideas. In addition, critics claim that teacher education that emphasizes the goals of social justice misuses its gate-keeping powers for ideological purposes, admitting and evaluating

prospective teachers based on a set of value-laden indicators that neglect the relevant knowledge and skills associated with teaching. Critics argue that this creates a climate that is hostile to prospective teachers who hold views contrary to the dominant ideas of the teacher education program.

In the chapter, we contend that the fundamental assumption that runs through the critiques of social justice is that knowledge is politically neutral and objective, and that the function of schooling, and in turn teachers, is to transmit this knowledge to students. Further, the critiques position knowledge and social justice as mutually exclusive, indicating that it is impossible to promote both simultaneously. As we point out, the critiques, leveled at teacher education by a constellation of conservative groups and individuals, have had significant impact on the idea of teacher education committed to social justice. For example, in 2006, the major accrediting organization for teacher education, NCATE, submitted to pressure from these groups and removed all reference to social justice from its literature.

In our review of the critiques, we argue that those who promote social justice in teacher education work from assumptions about teaching and learning that are very different from the assumptions that guide the critiques. Responding to the criticism that attention to social justice neglects knowledge and skill development, we argue that knowledge and justice are not dichotomous. In fact, from a social justice perspective, knowledge includes academic content and skills but also includes critical thinking about what counts as knowledge (Michelli, 2005; Cochran-Smith, in press). Cochran-Smith (2004) argued in a previous article that a social justice focus "eschew[s] narrow views of teaching and learning, particularly those that begin and end with the assumption that

teaching can be defined as instructional practice that leads to demonstrable student learning gains" (p. 205). Thus, social justice is squarely focused on knowledge, but defines this term broadly to include social and emotional learning, intellectual activity, and civic engagement, in addition to demonstrable gains on standardized tests.

In response to the critique that social justice in teacher education is too political, while teaching should be devoid of politics, proponents of social justice argue that this is impossible; teaching is not a neutral activity and it is not possible to teach in an apolitical and value-free fashion (Cochran-Smith, 1998, 2004; Keiser, 2005). Beyond the impossibility of stripping teaching of any political perspective or values, Cochran-Smith (1998) has argued that a fundamental assumption of teacher education committed to social justice is that teaching demands social responsibility to alleviate the inequities that currently exist and that limit learning opportunities for some students. Linked to this, advocates argue that social justice in teacher education promotes learning for all students in the context of a system that makes learning more difficult for some students due to their class status and/or cultural identity (Nieto, 2000; Villegas, 2007). Rather than ignoring these inequities as outside the work of teaching, social justice educators are not only aware of social inequities but they are obliged to respond to them.

A related criticism is that a focus on social justice in teacher education serves an unreasonable gate-keeping function, and prospective teachers who hold views that contradict the ideas that are in keeping with a social justice orientation experience discrimination. However, advocates of a focus on social justice argue that dispositions and values do make a difference. Prospective teachers who do not believe that all children can and should have access to high quality learning are not well suited to the

profession and should not be admitted or should be counseled out (Nieto, 2000; Villegas, 2007; Cochran-Smith, in press).

Finally, an important idea that underlies the whole project of teacher education for social justice is the belief that education is a public good that is fundamental to democracy (Cochran-Smith, 2004b; Keiser, 2005; Michelli, 2005). Rather than seeing teacher education only in terms of serving the needs of particular students, the assumption behind a focus on social justice in teacher education is that all students, and society in general, benefit from a public education system that provides good teachers to all children. Keiser (2005) argued, "An educated public does not benefit only the individuals educated, but also society, as lowered crime rates, safer streets, improved communication, social harmony, and civic participation contribute to a richer and safer democracy" (p. 40). In sum, a social justice focus assumes that learning is at the center of its goals, but also recognizes the political nature of schooling and seeks to teach in ways that might change schools and, in turn, society.

The final critique that we (Cochran-Smith, et al, in press) identify is the ambiguity critique. This critique is somewhat different from the others, as it comes not only from outside of teacher education but also from teacher educators committed to social justice. Within the teacher education community, there have been several recent criticisms that at the same time that the idea of social justice has gained in popularity in programs around the country, it lacks conceptual clarity and strong theoretical foundations. Zeichner (2006) complained that the term "social justice teacher education" is so often used by teacher educators that it is "difficult to find a teacher education program in the United States that does not claim to have a program that prepares teachers for social justice" (p.

328). Grant and Agosto (2008) argued that social justice is a "well-intended idea" and a "popular slogan" but one that often lacks clear definition and can be "reduced to employing one of many concepts—including equality, equal opportunity and sometimes equity—without elaborating their meanings, putting them in context, noting the differences between and among these concepts and/or acknowledging that they have different implications for education policies and procedures" (p. 198).

This criticism, that the phrase "teacher education for social justice" is often used to embody one or more of a range of related but different concepts regarding culture, race, equity, access, and opportunity is an important critique that the study proposed here seeks to investigate, both in terms of the extant literature and in terms of the teacher education program experience that the study will document. In the next two sections, I present recent scholarship that attempts to respond to the ambiguity critique by articulating both more comprehensive and more theoretical perspectives on social justice in teacher education.

Social Justice in Teacher Education: Comprehensive Descriptions

While some researchers emphasize particular aspects such as multicultural education or civic engagement, a few have tried to provide a more comprehensive description of the goals, practices, and outcomes of social justice in teacher education. For example, Marilyn Cochran-Smith has published several important pieces over the last ten years that attempt to envision teacher education for social justice. Her 1998 chapter, *Learning to Teach for Social Justice*, was inspired by her own students' asking: "But what does teaching for social justice really mean? What does it look like in the classroom?" In response, she outlined six principles of practice, including:

Principle 1: Enable significant work for all students within learning communities.

Principle 2: Build on what students bring to school with them: knowledge and interests, cultural and linguistic resources.

Principle 3: Teach skills, bridge gaps.

Principle 4: Work with (not against) individuals, families, and communities.

Principle 5: Diversify modes of assessment.

Principle 6: Make activism, power, and inequity explicit parts of the curriculum. (Cochran-Smith, 1998, p. 118).

These six principles bring together many of the ideas represented by multicultural education, critical pedagogy, and activism. In addition, a unique aspect of her scholarship has been her conceptualizing of inquiry and its relationship to social justice. Specifically, she argued, "The kinds of questions student teachers ask about their work, the problems and dilemmas they pose, the interpretive frameworks they construct, the assumptions they are prompted to rethink, as well as the ways they connect emerging ideas to the theories, research, and experiences of other teachers and researchers" are all essential to becoming teachers for social justice (Cochran-Smith, 1998, p. 134). Cochran-Smith focused here on the processes employed in teacher education that promote social justice; she was interested not only in what teachers who are prepared to teach for social justice do, but how they learn.

Ken Zeichner has also written broadly about the idea of social justice in teacher education, focusing on the structural aspects of teacher education that help promote social justice. In his description of competing trends in teacher education, he described three different agendas for reforming teacher education: the deregulation agenda, the

professionalization agenda, and the social justice agenda (Zeichner, 2003). He envisioned the social justice agenda as an outgrowth of the social reconstructionist tradition that imagines education as a pathway to a more just society. He identified several areas for attention from a social justice perspective, all of which focus on program policies and procedures. These included the promotion of instructional strategies that promote intercultural sensitivity, the increased recruitment of diverse teacher education candidates and faculty, and increased depth of connections and ongoing collaboration with schools and communities. He argued that programs with a social justice agenda must attend to these three areas in reform efforts. Zeichner also critiqued the field for its narrow focus on preparing white teachers to teach poor urban students of color. He argued that this focus is inadequate both because it does not recognize that learning to teach for social justice is relevant to all teacher candidates, and because it neglects the larger social issues and structural inequities that need to be examined to more effectively meet the needs of all children.

Zeichner's and Cochran-Smith's work differs somewhat in that Cochran-Smith has emphasized the teacher education practices that are associated with teacher knowledge and skill development, as well as classroom practice, whereas Zeichner's focus has been more related to the institutional arrangements of teacher education and their relationship to social justice goals. Yet their work serves to unify many of the ideas described in the previous section and provides a more comprehensive vision of teacher education that prepares teachers to teach for social justice.

Social Justice in Teacher Education: The Role of Theory

Although both Cochran-Smith and Zeichner have provided useful frameworks for considering how and why to practice teacher education committed to social justice, it is only in their very recent work that they have taken up the question of how larger theories of justice might influence efforts to prepare teachers to teach for social justice. To foreground recent theoretical work that investigates theories of justice in conceptualizing teacher education, I begin with North's (2006) analysis of social justice in education. Mirroring the ambiguity critique, North argued, "The individuals and groups implicated in the policies and practices designed and executed under the banner of 'social justice' would benefit from an explicit discussion of both the theories underlying this label and the desired consequences of its use" (p. 507). In response to this under-theorizing of the concept of social justice in education, North outlined the central claims and debates surrounding theories of justice and applied these to education generally. Although she did not specifically investigate teacher education for social justice, her work helps to illuminate the tensions that arise when scholars try to conceptualize the role of teacher preparation in developing attitudes, practices, and beliefs that support teaching for social justice.

North outlined feminist critical theorist Nancy Fraser's description of justice (1997) as either a problem of redistribution or recognition. Fraser argued that the redistributive approach to justice, which she identified as the dominant paradigm of justice in the last 150 years, simultaneously emphasizes individual freedom and promotes a common political identity that can unify society. This is the concept of justice that characterized John Rawls' (1971) influential work; Rawls' definition of justice attempted

to protect the individual's right to pursue the good life while maintaining the greatest possible equality in society. Fraser associated this redistributive paradigm with class struggle and efforts to rectify economic inequality.

In contrast, the recognition model of justice focuses on individual and group self-realization. This notion of justice is linked to identity politics in which justice is achieved when individuals and groups are all seen as equals. Thus the "misrecognition" of individuals leads to the alienation and exclusion of groups who do not share the dominant groups' perspectives and worldviews. North observed that this recognition-seeking takes particular form in a capitalist society in that those seeking recognition want to have what society deems as relevant and normative of the good life. In a capitalist system, the recognition model does not require a restructuring of society but rather, a change in status for groups that have been discriminated against in their efforts to achieve equal access.

According to North, Fraser's answer to the tensions between these two approaches was to merge the politics of redistribution and recognition and find a middle ground between these potentially disparate goals. Fraser argued that institutions and social practices could be changed such that groups seeking recognition would have the opportunities and resources to participate equally. Yet, North challenged Fraser's idea and argued that the tensions that exist between these different perspectives are not so easily rectified in education.

In addition to the tensions between a redistributive and recognition approach to justice, North defined two other overlapping tensions within education: the tension between competing emphases on equality as difference versus equality as sameness, and the tension between macro-level processes such as policy-level efforts to insure justice

versus micro-level approaches that focus on individual experiences. Specifically, North argued that an equality of access perspective--in keeping with the redistributive vision of justice--might ignore the ways in which legal equality could obscure inequities that persist within and between schools. Furthermore, the argument for the same treatment of different groups also has the potential to ignore the persistence of harmful group stereotypes and can oversimplify the goals of the collective at the expense of the individual. In contrast, a focus on group difference can lead to the essentializing and simplifying of group identity. With regard to the micro/macro tension, North pointed out that the emphasis on individual autonomy that is at the core of the micro-level approach to justice could function to promote personal character at the expense of the development of a more public vision of citizenship and democratic participation.

North concluded that "just educational communities need to be both inclusive and capable of addressing historically based, systemic inequality between sociocultural groups" (p. 519). Thus, justice in education must respect difference, promote inclusiveness, and recognize the history of systemic inequity that impacts groups differently. Of course, this presents a considerable challenge to educational communities as the tensions between the different approaches to justice are always present and always "in conversation." Yet, North referenced Bakhtin (1986) to suggest that understanding comes from dialogue among these different perspectives. She explained:

> When communication is understood as a historically complex chain of calls and responses, the notion of the purely autonomous individual falls away, as the individual is always responding to an/other, whether in the form of other

> individual or groups of human beings or historical, institutionalized, authoritative and/or internally persuasive discourses (p. 526).

Rather than attempting to bridge images of justice that are sometimes in tension, North argued that education scholars must accept these tensions and continuously examine how these ideas relate to practices and policies in education.

In a chapter in the forthcoming *International Handbook of Educational Change*, *2nd Edition* (eds. M. Fullan, A. Hargreaves, D. Hopkins, & A. Lieberman, in press) Marilyn Cochran-Smith critiques her field for a lack of theoretical clarity about the role of social justice in teacher education, and asserts that a theory of teacher education for social justice must include a theory of justice, a theory of practice, and a theory of teacher education. First, drawing on some of the same ideas North presented, she argues that a theory of justice today must define the relationship between a redistributive and a recognition approach to justice. In other words, a theory of justice for education must tackle how to balance the various, and sometimes contradictory, commitments implied by the goals of equity and recognition. Cochran-Smith argues that a theory of justice for teacher education must deal with the different perspectives on justice and integrate three central ideas from political theory: equity of learning opportunity; respect for social groups; and acknowledgement of tensions that emerge from the competing ideas of equality and recognition that are central to conceptions of justice.

Second, she argues that a theory of teacher education for social justice must have a "well-theorized idea about the kind of teaching practice that enhances justice since preparing teachers for practice is the goal of all preparation programs and pathways." This theory of practice is not characterized by methods or techniques, but rather by how

teachers think about their work and interpret the complex environments of classrooms and schools and the relationship of these contexts to contemporary society. In this conception of practice, Cochran-Smith includes common understandings of knowledge for teaching in which knowing subject matter and pedagogical skills are essential, but she also focuses on the role of a critical perspective toward this knowledge. From the social justice perspective, teachers critique the idea of a knowledge base and challenge the notion of a set core of skills and content, examining who this privileges and why. Finally, this theory of practice also focuses on the "interpretive frameworks" that should guide teachers: an asset-based approach to students, cultural consciousness, and an inquiry stance that promotes an activist perspective.

Cochran-Smith's third focus, a theory of teacher preparation for social justice, explicates four key issues: selection of teacher candidates; teacher education curriculum; teacher education structures; and, assessment and outcomes. In short, teachers should be recruited and selected in order to diversify the teaching force and selection should in some part be based on the social justice beliefs and values that prospective teachers hold. Curriculum in teacher education must include content and pedagogy, but must also expose teacher candidates to critical perspectives and continually challenge what knowledge is included and what is left out. The structures of teacher education must promote an inquiry stance and participation in inquiry communities, and find places for communities and parents to participate in the education of teachers. Finally, teacher education for social justice must simultaneously accept accountability for ensuring that pupils succeed in the current high stakes testing climate, provide rich learning

opportunities for students that go far beyond test preparation, and challenge the entire testing regime.

Cochran-Smith's theory of social justice in teacher education contrasts sharply with the current accountability agenda, and seeks to challenge the inequities that she and others have argued is only reinforced in the current climate of high stakes testing. She contends that, "the bottom line of a theory of teacher education for social justice—and the goal that subsumes all other goals—is promoting students' learning and enhancing their life chances in the world." Cochran-Smith, in this recent work, again delineates the theoretical and practical ideas that might guide a teacher education program toward developing the attitudes, beliefs, and practices that support social justice. Most importantly, she illuminates the tensions that both make the topic of social justice vulnerable to criticism and critically important in our current educational climate.

Similar to Cochran-Smith's recent effort to theorize about justice in teacher education, McDonald and Zeichner, in a forthcoming chapter in the first *Handbook of Social Justice in Education* (eds. W. Ayers, T. Quinn, & D. Stovall, in press), also argue for greater attention to theories of justice in defining the role of social justice in teacher education. They contend that the field has remained ambiguous, perhaps due to the strong connections between ideas of social justice and multicultural education, and suggest that the ambiguity is a result, in part, of a lack of deep investigation into broader theories of justice and the implications of these theories for teaching and learning. In keeping with work described by North (2006) and Cochran-Smith (in press), they draw on distributive versus recognition approaches to justice, referencing the work of Rawls (1971) and Young's (1990) critique of that work. They posit that distributive notions of justice

indicate a particular kind of teacher preparation whereas a respect-for-difference approach affirms other goals. Specifically, they argue that an emphasis on distributive goals, which they believe is the dominant conception of justice, overlooks the ways that individuals and groups experience oppression; just dividing the pie equally neglects the particular needs of individuals and groups. Yet, they also believe that this distributive goal dominates in teaching, where the primary objective is to support the individual learner without attention to "the institutional arrangements and social structures that shape the opportunities available to individuals." The authors suggest that exploring how social justice in teacher education negotiates these competing ideas about justice would challenge teacher educators to ask difficult questions about their goals and practices. For example, teacher education would have to explore whether justice is about equal opportunity but not equal outcomes. Grappling with these kinds of questions, they suggest, would help the field to clarify the currently ambiguous meaning of social justice in teacher education.

McDonald & Zeichner (in press) argue that, in order to avoid some of the pitfalls that they believe multicultural teacher education faced, programs with a social justice orientation "must take up the challenge of clarifying the vision(s) of justice orienting their work, which will require grappling with differing political views of social justice and teacher education both amongst program faculty and with other members of the community." They argue that, ultimately, programs that articulate the theme of social justice must overcome the fragmentation and marginalization that characterizes many multicultural teacher education efforts and develop more coherent program-wide objectives.

However, the suggestion that teacher education must more clearly define what it means to promote social justice raises interesting questions about authoritative discourses, social justice, and teacher education. Specifically, if social justice as an idea is intended to challenge the status quo, how clearly defined can a programmatic commitment to social justice in teacher education be before it becomes an authoritative discourse that is unbending and static? What degree of consistency and coherence is necessary in a program with a stated social justice agenda and what are the implications of programmatically defining social justice? What are the implications of coherent program-wide definitions of social justice for teacher educators and for prospective teachers? These are important questions for social justice-oriented teacher education to consider.

It is also important to recognize that the recent efforts to more clearly articulate the fundamental goals and purposes of teacher education that is committed to social justice do not take place in a vacuum. Cochran-Smith and Zeichner, for example, have for many years written about the role that social justice plays in teacher preparation. Yet their most recent work deliberately links teacher education to ideas about justice that draw on political theory and philosophical debate. It may be that these new efforts to articulate the fundamentals of social justice in teacher education are prompted by the attacks on teacher education in general, and more specifically, the powerful critiques of social justice in teacher education from both within and outside teacher education. In light of these criticisms, these scholars may feel new urgency to deepen the discussion, clarify the goals, and thereby strengthen the argument for teacher education committed to well-explicated goals of social justice.

In the next section, I review empirical scholarship that has examined how social justice is enacted in teacher education, the impact of courses and programs committed to social justice on teacher candidates and graduates, and how teacher candidates learn to teach for social justice.

Teacher Education for Social Justice: Empirical Scholarship

The proposed study seeks to understand the experience of learning to teach in (and following) a program with a stated social justice agenda. Therefore a review of empirical work related to teacher education for social justice provides a backdrop for this study. However, there is a limited body of research that empirically investigates learning to teach specifically for social justice. A search on the Educational Resource Information Center, using the terms "social justice" and "teacher education" elicited 120 peer-reviewed articles, the earliest being an article published in 1991 by a professor about her experience teaching a multicultural foundations teacher education course from an anti-racist perspective (Ahlquist, 1991). Many of the 120 articles elicited from the search were not empirical studies, but rather include many of the conceptual pieces reviewed above as well as many more articles that address aspects of the social justice agenda but not from an empirical perspective. For example, there were several articles that describe teacher education faculty's experience with a particular course or program, and although some of these were empirical studies, some articles served as descriptions of particular practices rather than investigations of these same practices. For example, Martin (2005) described her action research course and how the course challenges students to consider issues of social class when they conduct their own projects. She drew on 10 years of samples from students' assignments as examples of the impact of the course, but she did not clarify a

research question, nor provide any information about how she selected the examples or how representative they were of the larger cohort. This is not to suggest that this work is unimportant; descriptions of practice are very informative and useful to teacher educators. However, there are several examples of articles such as this that indicated that an empirical study would be reported, when in fact the article was really a description and defense of practice (e.g. Munter, 2004; Romo & Chavez, 2006). I have not included these articles in the empirical review.

Just as the conceptual review indicates that there is a wide range of concepts that under gird social justice-oriented teacher education, the empirical work also draws on several related concepts, such as teaching for equity, culturally relevant teaching, and urban teaching. Putting boundaries on this literature review was therefore challenging. Studies that specifically investigated what was identified by the authors as teacher education for social justice were reviewed. In addition, articles that included these terms in their key words, and provided a clear conceptual connection to ideas of social justice were also included. However, articles that either were not specifically about teacher education or learning to teach, as well as articles that provided only cursory reference to the basic ideas of social justice were not included. This means that articles that investigated experienced teachers (e.g. Johnson, 2002) or schools that teach for social justice but that did not focus on the process of learning to teach (e.g. Kraft, 2007) were excluded. In the following paragraphs, I first provide an overview of the types of research that examine learning to teach for social justice. I then review some of the common themes that emerge from the studies' findings, and finally, I offer some critique.

The largest number of empirical studies of learning to teach or teacher education for social justice focused on examining the impact of a course or a program component, such as a multicultural education course, a specific field placement, or an inquiry-based project, on teacher candidates and graduates (e.g. Burant & Kirby, 2002; Adams, Bondy, & Kuhel, 2005; Cho & DeCastro-Ambrosetti, 2005). Most of these studies were qualitative, and drew on interviews with teacher candidates and graduates, samples of their coursework or reflective journals, observations of courses, and field notes. In addition, some of the studies included surveys of the student participants. A few relied only on surveys although the majority of studies that included quantitative data employed a mixed method approach that also included qualitative data. In addition, there were a handful of recent studies that more generally examined programs that have a commitment to social justice, rather than focusing on a particular aspect of the program (e.g. McDonald, 2005; 2008; Flores, 2007; Gomez, Black, & Allen, 2007). These studies were either mixed method or qualitative as they sought to describe the whole program. In addition, there were some studies that explored the experience of learning to teach for social justice without linking it specifically to the preparation program (e.g. Johnson, 2007; Urrieta, 2007; Chubbuck & Zembylas, 2008). Again, these researchers, due to the complex picture they intended to present, drew primarily from qualitative data sources. Finally, there were several studies that overlapped with the categories above, but focused on a self-study approach (e.g. Hyland & Noffke, 2005; Sevier, 2005). Self-studies are generally understood to be efforts, primarily by those in teacher education, to investigate their own practice or program and systematically collect evidence that will allow them to consider the impact of their work and potentially transform their practice (Loughran,

2004). Appendix A includes a chart of the empirical studies, and contains information about the type of data collected, the sample size, the research questions, and some of the basic findings. What follows is an overview of the findings from this research.

Finding #1: TESJ is Eye-Opening.

Several of the studies found that students' experiences in teacher education, specifically in field placements and action-related assignments, exposed them to new ideas that challenged their expectations and prior biases. Many of the studies researched the primarily White and female population of teacher candidates and posited that exposure to new environments and critical experiences with people different from themselves has the potential to open their eyes to realities of schooling and perspectives they had not previously considered.

For example, Sevier (2005) described one semester in his social foundations course and his realization that his students, who were mostly White students from the best schools in the state, found the readings from Kozol and Anyon outdated and irrelevant. This led him to question his approach to the course and to change his focus from readings, discussion, and writing, to a more experiential approach in which the students had the opportunity to meet with high school students and an activist teacher, and conduct comparative inquiries about the resources at local schools in economically diverse communities. Several of the students described their exposure to the realities of schools as eye opening and the author noted that several students ended up participating in some kind of activism following the course. He concluded that the students developed a more genuine belief in the realities of educational inequities from their investigatory

experience than they either would have been open to or gained from the seminal readings on the topic.

Similar to Sevier's (2005) study of his inclusion of a more active component in a traditionally theoretical course, Hyland & Noffke (2005) investigated the impact of their community inquiry-based assignments within the context of their methods courses on 198 pre-service teacher candidates. The students were required to participate in several community-based activities and reflect on the experiences. The authors found that the students benefited from exposure to racially and economically different communities, and developed a sympathetic understanding about the historically marginalized groups they studied. However, the authors also questioned whether their tendency to provide students with choices in selecting the community or group to investigate allowed some students who were in the majority to choose not to challenge themselves. They offered the example of a White Protestant student going to a Jewish synagogue as a less difficult "border crossing" than the choices some students made to place themselves more deeply in the minority. They also actively questioned the "tourism" aspect on the work, wondering about the impact of approaching racially and economically diverse communities as a cultural experience for their White students. Nevertheless, they recognized that the experiential component of their methods courses exposed many students to new perspectives and understandings.

In a similar study about the impact of community engagement as part of teacher education, Burant & Kirby (2002) also found that participating in an urban school community was eye opening for many of the students. The authors identified five categories of experience for their majority White but relatively diverse group of teacher

candidates. These categories were: (1) deepening multicultural; (2) eye-opening and transformational; (3) masked multicultural; (4) partially miseducative; and (5) escaping. The first two categories reflect much of the work that has focused on the eye-opening impact of an experiential component (e.g. Adams & Kuhel, 2005; Lenski, Crumpler, Stallworth, & Crawford, 2005; Romo & Chavez, 2006), in which exposure to a diverse community allows teacher candidates from the dominant culture to deepen their understanding and compassion for racially and economically diverse communities. However, Burant & Kirby also questioned these ideas. Particularly their third category, masked multicultural, challenged some of the findings of other research in the field. The "masked multicultural" response came from students who remained firmly committed to teaching White middle-class students but their involvement as "good students" in the course and field-component served to mask their beliefs about urban schools and minority communities for the duration of the course. From data collected in follow up interviews, after the end of the course, the authors identified six of the students as in fact falling into this "masked" category. Wideen, Mayer-Smith, and Moon (1998), in their review of the learning to teach literature, noted that, in many studies, the researchers were also the teacher educators or program leaders of the course or program being studied. This, they argued, complicates the reliability of the findings and begs the question: Did they find what they wanted to find? Did the researchers expectations contribute, unduly, to the conclusions? Similarly, Burant and Kirby's findings prompt researchers to question results that indicate changes in attitudes among students when course professors or program directors conduct the research and ask the only during the duration of the program itself.

Not all the studies focused on the impact of a particular aspect of teacher education on White or dominant culture students. For example, Au and Blake's (2003) study looked at the experience of three culturally diverse teacher candidates, and found that different aspects of the program were more provocative or eye-opening, dependent on the cultural identity of the particular candidate. In the case of the culturally dominant and socio-economically advantaged teachers, the field experiences in under-resourced schools different from their own schooling provided critical exposure to new perspectives. However, for the prospective teacher who was raised in the schools where the field experience took place, her coursework provided the more critical and pivotal aspect of the teacher education experience, exposing her to new perspectives about her identity as a teacher. Au & Blake's study complicates the idea that field experiences are the critical component of teacher education and challenges the tendency in many of the studies to privilege experience or field work over coursework and theory in teacher education.

Finding #2: Conceptual and Practical Understandings of Social Justice are Different

Research that investigated teacher education programs with a focus on social justice indicated that some aspects of socially just teaching translate more readily from teacher education to classroom practice. Specifically, practical understandings of teaching for social justice focused on individual students whereas theoretical conceptions stressed the socio-historical roots of inequities. The empirical studies offered very little evidence of practical applications of more theoretical ideas. This resonates with a tension within the scholarship of learning to teach that dichotomizes theoretical and practical knowledge, albeit more nuanced by the issues of justice. Zeichner (1993) argued, "The

problem is still wrongly cast by many as merely one of translating or applying the theories of the universities to classroom practice. The facts that theories are always produced through practices and that practices always reflect particular theoretical commitments either are not grasped or are deliberately ignored" (unpaginated).

McDonald's (2008) findings from a study of the assignments in two teacher education programs committed to social justice reflect this false dichotomization of theory/practice. She found that, although the conceptual discussion of social justice in foundations courses focused on structural inequities, the assignments that involved practical applications tended to reflect an image of teaching for social justice as meeting the needs of particular students. In other words, whereas students wrote papers that might examine how issues of justice and equity play out in the context of schools, the majority of assignments that involved working with students or reflecting on their practicum experiences focused the teachers on the needs of individual students. McDonald observed, "Assignments overwhelmingly provided teachers opportunities to explore social justice as meeting the needs of individual students rather than as examining the social, political, and institutional conditions of schooling. As such, they tended to reflect an individualistic notion of justice in which the aim is to level the playing field" (p. 156).

Although McDonald was clearly critical of this perspective, much of the research on social justice in teacher education presented an image of teaching for social justice that focused entirely on the teacher's work in the classroom to meet the needs of students, albeit with awareness of the student's cultural identity. For example, Romo & Chavez (2006) demonstrated how pre-service teachers' exposure to border communities in a field experience taught them to meet the needs of individual students. The authors related this

to the idea of the teacher as an advocate for students but did not make explicit how meeting individual needs in the classroom was advocacy or how advocacy might extend beyond meeting individual student's needs. Athaneses & Oliviera (2007) interviewed the graduates of an equity-focused program who worked in mostly rural and urban low-income schools and investigated how the program mission influenced them. The authors characterized the graduates as driven by the need for equitable treatment of all students and an attendant need to act on students' behalf. The graduates cited the teacher education program's influence in that it promoted a caring and proactive stance toward supporting students' learning and focused on individual students. Although there were also references to advocacy beyond the classroom, the primary focus for the teachers in the study was on meeting the needs of individual students.

Chubbuck & Zembylas (2008) did not investigate the impact of a particular teacher education program but rather, looked closely at a novice teacher's experience of learning to teach for social justice. One of their critical findings was that the teacher they studied had more success and gratification in teaching for social justice when she shifted her focus to the individual. They explained that ultimately:

> She shifted her conception of the locus of agency to accomplish justice from the collective to the individual. In this move, she claimed that doing justice must first flow from the core of a just being in relationship to others…[she explained], 'the first place to establish justice is inside ourselves, in the relationships we have with each other.' (p. 304).

It is important to note that this teacher continued to engage students in critical conversations about their community and she continued to organize her curriculum to

address social issues. However, it is telling that she found herself changing her conception of teaching for social justice to move much closer to an individualistic and relationship-focused notion of justice once she was teaching in her own classroom.

In our forthcoming study of a teacher education program committed to social justice, we (Cochran-Smith, Shakman, Terrell, Jong, Barnatt, & McQuillan, in press) found that the teachers we studied very rarely referred to advocacy, and even less to activism, when asked about teaching for social justice. Instead, their focus was almost entirely on the impact they could have in the classroom with their students. In fact, we identified a focus on pupils' learning as a central aspect of these teachers' conceptions of teaching for social justice, in contrast to criticisms that teacher education for social justice is not about academic learning. However, we argue that, over time, the graduates might come to see advocacy and activism as part of their work. We suggest that this focus on individual students could be a way toward more structural critique and activism on behalf of students. We argue:

> Although it may be unrealistic to expect teacher candidates and very new teachers to engage in structural critique and work as activists, it may be quite appropriate for preparation programs with a social justice agenda to expect teachers to enact social justice within the everyday world of their own lived experience as beginning teachers who are working within a larger educational system that structures inequity. Part of what this means is ensuring that every pupil has: opportunities to learn rich content and engage in critical thinking; the social, intellectual, and organizational supports that make learning possible; and a teacher who holds high learning expectations for everybody. We saw this enacted

> in the classrooms' of the beginning teachers described in the cases and we see this bedrock commitment to individuals' learning as the beginning of teaching for social justice rather than the endpoint. We think it may function as a bridge for beginning teachers to larger critiques and activism that examine the conditions that create inequity in schools.

Thus, we offer a different perspective on the specific theory/practice divide in teacher education for social justice, i.e. the structural critique in theory versus the practice of meeting the needs of individual students. We suggest that this apparent divide might be seen as a bridge. Although it may be easier to think about practicing social justice from the perspective of the particular rather than in terms of the larger social issues presented by schools and classrooms that function to benefit some but not all students, perhaps with appropriate support, new teachers could be led to a more comprehensive picture of teaching for social justice.

Although McDonald found in her research that there was an overwhelming focus on 'the practical' and a general sense that it is separate from theory, Zeichner suggested that in fact theory and practice are mutually constitutive. With regard to social justice, this might mean that in teacher education greater effort must be made to connect these structural critiques to practical applications. However, patience may also be necessary and support for new teachers learning to teach for social justice may have to consider that it takes time to apply theories of inequity and structural critique to daily practice.

Finding #3: Who Enters Teacher Education Makes a Difference

As mentioned in the conceptual review, several scholars have referred to the importance of recruitment and selection of teacher candidates as an important aspect

of teacher education for social justice. In some cases, this refers to recruiting racially and economically diverse teacher candidates, and in some cases this refers to identifying candidates whose ideas or beliefs indicate that the teacher candidate will be inclined to accept the ideas of teaching for social justice that are central to a program's mission. The empirical research to support this argument investigates both how racially and economically diverse teacher candidates think about teaching and what beliefs or values tend to lead new teachers to embrace social justice.

Rios & Montecino (1999) surveyed a group of ethnically diverse pre-service teachers who had expressed interest in teaching in their own communities. The survey examined how these teachers thought about multicultural education and their preparedness to teach. The 28 teacher candidates in this study demonstrated a high level of commitment to teaching students of color and to multicultural curriculum, and a good deal of experience working in diverse communities and schools. Furthermore, these teachers believed that issues of social justice must be a part of the curriculum, in contrast with the same researchers' studies of comparable White students, in which social justice is not found to be a high priority for the White teacher candidates. However, there were some curious findings that might indicate that the teachers described in this study shared some struggles with their White counterparts: they expressed concern that society's problems are too large for schools to cope with and in fact, the schools themselves are part of the problem for the children they hoped to teach. This finding seems to parallel a concern that practical applications of social justice focus at the individual level because the effort of resisting institutional inequities seems too great.

Several of the studies included within the larger sample only a small number of students of color, but in these studies, it was often the case that the teacher candidates of color were more certain of their commitment to social justice, multiculturalism, and culturally relevant teaching. For example, in Burant & Kirby's (2002) study of a field experience in an urban school, the teacher candidates whose experience could be described as "deepening multicultural" in that they embraced the tenets of multicultural education coming in but deepened their appreciation and knowledge about working in the community, were the teacher candidates of color. Adams & Kuhel (2005) examined the impact of a practicum in a local housing project on their primarily White middle class student population. One of their findings, though not specific to their racially diverse participants, was that students who had prior knowledge and experience with diverse populations were more inclined to have positive experiences in the practicum. In some cases this meant a White student with previous volunteer or work experience but it also included the few teachers of color in the study.

Finally, Wiggins, Follo, and Eberly (2007) compared three groups of students: Group A and Group B were both composed of White, middle class teacher candidates and Group C was composed of substitute and paraprofessional teachers in a certification program. Group C primarily included teachers of color with experience in the schools and served as a kind of control group for the study. Group A participated in a 1-semester field experience and Group B participated in a yearlong field experience. At the end of the respective field experiences, Group B's comfort level working in a diverse school community had increased considerably and was comparable to Group C's stated level of comfort. In other words, the teachers who were from the community and had experience

in the schools were much more comfortable than either of the White groups of teachers prior to their immersion experience. The authors selected Group C to include in the study presuming--apparently accurately--that their comfort level teaching a diverse group of students would automatically be higher because of their shared cultural identity.

Urrieta (2007) focused specifically on Chicano/a activist educators and examined how they developed these identities, conceptually and procedurally. He was interested in why some Mexicans in education embraced an activist identity and what conditions predisposed them to do so. He found that a constellation of personal history and experiences were implicated in this identity formation. For example, strong religious identities, past experiences of oppression, and close family relations served as significant personal characteristics that tended to influence the participants in his study to embrace a Chicano/a activist identity. Other experiences helped to form the identity, among them participation in college activism, leadership in relevant groups, and participating in consciousness raising which many identified as teaching for social justice, led many of the participants to return to their own communities to teach or work in education. Urrieta argued that the strong community commitment of Chicano/a teachers indicated that more active recruitment of these students to teacher education would be good for teacher education for social justice.

Other studies have looked at White teacher candidates and tried to determine the particular beliefs or dispositions that might indicate they would embrace the tenets of social justice. For example, Garmon's (2004) case study of one teacher candidate asked the question, "What factors make a difference in the positive multicultural development of a particular teacher candidate?" He identified three dispositional factors and three

experiential factors that seemed to suggest her positive development. The dispositional factors included: (a) openness to diversity; (b) self-awareness/self-reflectiveness; and (c) commitment to social justice. The experiential factors included: (d) intercultural experiences; (e) support group experiences; and (f) educational experiences. These dispositional factors might seem tautological, i.e. a commitment to social justice predisposes a teacher candidate to a commitment to social justice. Yet, research about new teachers' beliefs, as described earlier, seems to indicate that teacher education may be a weak intervention and teacher candidates tend to maintain the beliefs with which they enter the program. Thus, the beliefs with which candidates enter teacher education are clearly relevant to the experience they will have and to the ideas they will struggle with in the program.

Similarly, Levine-Rasky (2001) studied 35 prospective teachers' negotiation of social difference and, based on closer study of the values, beliefs, and biographies of three of the candidates, identified three "signposts" of the multicultural educator. First, she argued that personal identification with social injustice or educational inequity can lead some candidates to internalize a desire for change. Second, prospective multicultural educators value critical pedagogy and multicultural social reconstructionist education (MSRE). Finally, prospective multicultural educators have the desire to learn more about the effects of social domination and institutional racism. In describing the three candidates according to these signposts, Levine-Rasky drew on their personal histories as they linked to their values and beliefs. For example, the candidate she indicated was the exemplar had experienced educational inequities in her own schooling, demonstrated ongoing interest in MSRE, and made several efforts to learn more about patterns of social

domination despite resistance at her student teaching site. Levine-Rasky clarified that she did not advocate selecting teacher candidates based on their political beliefs, but rather suggested that considering these dispositions in the admission process could force teacher education to be more transparent about the "tacit values embedded in the selection process" (p. 316) and could lead to the inclusion of more under-represented groups in teacher education.

Some programs actively recruit teacher candidates who have both a stated commitment to social justice and represent greater diversity than the national picture of teacher candidates. For example, Quartz & TEP Research Group (2003) studied the Center X program at UCLA, which recruits teacher candidates who express a commitment to social justice coming into the program, and who want to work in urban schools. Their retention results, gathered from more than 300 graduates of the program between 1997-2000, indicated that recruiting candidates who are committed to these ideas yields higher retention in urban schools than the national average (70% still in teaching after 5 years as compared to 61% nationally, and 17% who left the classroom were still working in public education, as administrators, and graduate students). In addition, the graduates they surveyed expressed a high level of self-efficacy and rarely referred to deficit perspectives about students—that the students just won't apply themselves, that the parents won't support the teacher—as their frustrations in teaching. In other words, these teachers seemed to stay in urban schools and they maintained a commitment to social justice long after they complete the teacher preparation program.

The research about minority and White teacher candidates' values and beliefs related to issues of social justice, in composite, indicates that the ideas and experiences

teacher candidates bring with them have lasting influence. Thus, careful selection of candidates coupled with appropriate experiences in teacher education seem to be necessary to effectively prepare teachers to teach for social justice.

Finding #4: Teaching for Social Justice Leads to Risk and Alienation

Despite the beliefs they hold and the experiences they have in teacher education, several of the studies that followed teachers into their first teaching jobs found that new teachers believe that teaching for social justice in the context of the schools where they work is both personally and professionally risky. The teachers studied described how their beliefs and goals often alienated them from other staff, and in some cases, put their professional lives at risk.

In a recent study that explored how new teachers managed the context of their schools in their first jobs, Athaneses & Oliveira (2007) conducted focus groups with teachers who graduated from a program with a commitment to advocating for equity. The participants worked in low-income urban or rural communities and had been teaching for one to three years. Participants identified issues of risk as a major impediment to advocating for equity in their schools. In particular, as their advocacy moved beyond their own classrooms, risk increased. These risks were both interpersonal and practical—teachers feared making enemies among colleagues and, in some cases, feared losing their jobs for speaking out on behalf of students. Despite the teachers' reports that the program did prepare them to consider themselves advocates, particularly in the classroom but also in larger political arenas, some teachers considered risk in terms of a "cost/benefit analysis." In other words, if the change they sought was not in fact possible, due to the entrenched inequities in schools and their own lack of authority as classroom teachers,

some questioned why they should risk the alienation associated with the "rebel" identity (p. 130). Further, though the program did teach them about advocacy, they also "reported little preparation in learning ways to manage confrontation with other educators when conflicts arise regarding issues of equity" (p. 133). Although the program promoted advocacy, it didn't necessarily deal with the real risks associated with taking this stance, particularly in the context of schools today.

Achinstein & Ogawa's (2006) study examined teachers who did take these risks and the consequences that followed. They described the experience of two new teachers who actively resisted the district-mandated curriculum, and the unfortunate results of this resistance. Despite considerable success with students and, at least for a time, favorable assessments by superiors, the teachers were alienated from their colleagues because they chose to teach "against the grain" (Cochran-Smith, 1991). These novice teachers maintained "fidelity" not to curricular mandates but to their own deeply held beliefs about how children ought to learn. Yet in both cases, after their second year teaching, these teachers left their schools: one teacher left teaching altogether and the other teacher moved to a more affluent district. In both cases, the situation at their first jobs became too difficult for them to continue teaching as they had imagined and tried to do in their first years. Despite strong beliefs and innovative practice, they encountered powerful barriers to teaching for social justice due to the school, district, and the federal context.

Similarly, Long (2004) found that the new teachers she studied faced several barriers to maintaining their convictions in the press of the day-to-day job of teaching. In particular, the lack of support they experienced for creative and alternative approaches and the attendant alienation they felt led some teachers to let go of their convictions and

follow the culture of the school, despite strong misgivings. The seven teachers the author studied entered teaching with images of "joining communities of professionals who worked together to create dynamic learning contexts for children…[yet], instead, almost all the group members experienced alienation at some point because of their excitement for implementing new practices" (p. 146). Members of her study described both a lack of collegial support and principals who policed teachers, expecting them to act in lockstep with the mandated curriculum. This relates to the barrier presented by the "testing frenzy" that drives new teachers to abandon beliefs in favor of teaching for test success. But abandoning beliefs did not come without cost; the teachers she studied were depressed and demoralized by this pressure, surprised and bewildered by how they found themselves teaching. One teacher in the study presented the dilemma succinctly: "What happens when you leave a university that was formed because of a desire to change the world through education and go into a school that hates the very meaning of change is that you change" (p. 147).

The teachers described in these studies were torn between the ideas about social justice and equity that their teacher education program advocated and the realities of working in schools where their colleagues and administrators were not willing to embrace the same practices, and underlying beliefs, that characterized their training. As a result, these new teachers risked on the one hand, being alone in their work or even losing their jobs and, on the other, feeling demoralized by the work of teaching because they were unable to teach in ways that matched their convictions.

Cautions and Next Steps for Empirical Studies of Learning to Teach for Social Justice

Over the last 20 years, interest in teacher education for social justice has increased, and programs have implemented a range of initiatives in the spirit of social justice, whether as discrete program elements or overall design changes. Empirical research examining teacher education for social justice has increased in response and the recent empirical studies described in the previous pages indicate that interest is not waning. However, I offer two specific cautions about this research.

Burant & Kirby (2002), studying the impact of an urban field experience on students' understanding and commitment to teaching diverse students, found that six of the 26 students in their study responded in ways they describe as "masked multicultural" due to "studenting" behaviors. This is a troubling finding: the students told their program professors the appropriate social justice answers while still in the course, but after the term ended, more openly expressed opinions that contradicted what they had said in interviews during the course.

Many of the studies described in this section relied on student self-report and were conducted by people who were deeply invested in the success of the course, initiative, or program. In addition, in many cases the data were collected while the participants were in a complicated position—they were students in the teachers' courses or in some other position in which the researchers had some authority over the participants. This leads one to wonder if the students who completed a survey at the end of a course or wrote in reflection journals over the course of the semester were, deliberately or unwittingly, giving the researchers what they wanted to hear. This reflects Wideen, Mayer-Smith, and Moon's (1998) critique of the larger body of empirical work

on learning to teach. Many of the studies they reviewed were written by researchers who were also the teacher educators or program leaders of the course or program being studied. They contended that this compromised the reliability of the findings, leading readers to wonder if the researchers found what they were looking for, or more troubling still, if the researchers influenced their participants' responses. When one is studying prospective teachers' attitudes about difficult and controversial questions raised about race, equity, and justice, this becomes a particularly important issue for the researcher.

This observation calls into question the truth of the "eye-opening" finding described above, or at least the lasting impact of these apparently eye-opening experiences. To respond to this, more research that investigates learning to teach for social justice should be conducted by researchers who are not assigning the grades or approving the certification of participants in the study. In addition, analysis should be conducted by some people who are not so deeply invested in the success of the course or program as those who teach and lead them. Finally, research should attempt to employ longitudinal designs that go beyond the period of the course or program to look at impact beyond the duration of the initiative.

The other caution regarding research on teacher education for social justice has to do with the focus of some of the studies that examine learning to teach for social justice. These studies offer a lot to the field because they provide a far more complex and nuanced picture of learning to teach than studies that focus on a particular course or experience can provide. In addition, these studies often followed the teachers out into the schools, both during and after student teaching. However, some of these studies concentrated on a select group of students and chose them because they were exemplars,

identified by faculty or principals for their commitment to social justice. If we want to understand how the majority of teacher candidates experience teacher education for social justice, selecting the exemplars offers a skewed picture. For example, Flores (2007) intended to examine how teacher education for social justice influences teachers' identities and practice in urban schools. However, she chose the four teachers for her study because they stood out for their commitment to social justice. It is not wrong to examine exemplars, however, this author's research question did not account for the fact that the subjects of her study were exemplars. If she wanted to generalize to the impact of teacher education, a focus on the exemplars did not provide an accurate picture of the program's impact.

However, studies of exemplars do contribute to an understanding of the experience of learning to teach for social justice. For example, Chubbuck and Zembylas (2008), interested in the emotional experience of teaching for social justice, chose to study a teacher with whom one of the researchers was very familiar. They selected the teacher because they believed she truly embodied a novice teacher attempting to teach for social justice. The authors did not intend to link her experience back to the teacher education program, but rather, they wanted to explore the emotional impact of teaching for social justice on new teachers. Therefore, with their specific research questions focused on how a new teacher struggles with teaching for social justice, selecting a teacher who embraced and tried to enact ideas of teaching for social justice was necessary.

Wideen, Mayer-Smith, and Moon's (1998) critique of empirical work on learning to teach is relevant to this sub-group of studies on teacher education for social justice.

They called on the field of teacher education research to embrace a more "ecological perspective" on learning to teach, recognizing the many influences and contexts that have an impact on teachers' developing understanding, knowledge, and practice of teaching. In short, they argued that "research…must take a more holistic and critical approach to interrogate and challenge the structures, approaches, and mythology of teacher education" (p. 169). Some studies described in this review, such as Morva McDonald's (2005; 2008) study of two teacher education programs with social justice missions or Gomez, Black, & Allen's (2007) case study of one teacher candidate over four semesters, did provide rich description of the programs as a whole and investigated specific aspects of teacher education for social justice. However, many of the empirical studies I reviewed focused on particular interventions or courses, rather than whole programs and long-term impacts. Thus, continued investigation of the process of learning to teach in programs that make social justice central to their missions will contribute to our understanding of these programs and their impact. In particular, studies that look at how teacher candidates who are representative of the general student body of the program, rather than exemplars, and studies that provide deep description of the program experience from multiple perspectives will lend depth to the discussion of what teacher education in social justice-oriented programs do in practice and how these programs influence teacher candidates.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH DESIGN

In this chapter, I provide an overview of the Hill University TNE project, and specifically the Qualitative Case Study from which my study draws data. I also provide a brief overview of the principles of qualitative and case study research and then describe the research participants and my relationship to them. The research design and data analysis strategies follow. All interview and observational protocols are included in the appendices.

Background of Study

This dissertation is derived from data collected as part of the Qualitative Case Study (QCS), one of six studies that make up the portfolio of studies created by the Evidence Team of Hill University Teachers for a New Era (HU TNE). The Carnegie Corporation of New York, in collaboration with several other foundations, selected Hill to be one of 11 sites around the country to receive a 5-year grant to reform how teacher education is conducted and evaluated in the United States. The Evidence Team was charged with developing strategies for researching and assessing the impact of teacher education, with a particular focus on pupil outcomes. The Evidence Team developed a conceptual framework of learning to teach (Appendix B) that attempts to capture the complexity of this process, accounting for entering characteristics such as previous schooling, strongly-held beliefs, or work experience; learning opportunities in various aspects of the program, including courses and field experiences; and the learning that continues in K-12 schools after the program. The conceptual framework links all of this to outcomes for teacher and pupil learning, and grounds it in the contexts in which the learning takes place. The QCS project, one of six studies in a portfolio of studies, is a set

of longitudinal case studies examining relationships among candidates' entering characteristics; teacher learning in coursework and field experiences; developing understandings of teaching, pupil learning, and social justice; teaching practices during student teaching and the first two years of teaching; pupils' learning; and efforts to teach for social justice. Whereas the various studies in the portfolio, which includes qualitative and quantitative studies, capture aspects of this process, and together capture the whole conceptual framework, the QCS is the only study in the portfolio that attempts alone to examine all elements of this framework over time.

As one of the core researchers on the QCS, I was involved in all aspects of designing the study, including developing the research questions and developing data collection plans, recruiting participants, writing and piloting interview and observational protocols, participating in the development of the TAPL (the independent measure of pupil work), conducting interviews and observations with two research participants from 2005-2008, participating in ongoing analysis of interview and observational data, scoring pupil work, and writing papers and presenting at conferences. As a result, my research questions and the larger case study have influenced each other; as my research questions developed, this influenced some of our design choices and our design influenced some of the questions I chose to ask of the data.

Interpretive Qualitative and Case Study Research

The purpose of this dissertation was to investigate the experience of learning to teach in a program with a stated social justice agenda, examining the experience of two teacher candidates/graduates of the program over the period of several years. In so doing, this dissertation provides insight into what the experience of learning to teach might be

like for teacher candidates who enroll in programs that state social justice as a central mission of the program.

The study's purpose and goals are well suited to qualitative research. Erickson (1986) called for qualitative research on teaching because it "attempts to combine close analysis of fine details of behavior and meaning in everyday social interaction with analysis of the wider societal context…[and it attempts] to be empirical without being positivist; to be rigorous and systematic in investigating the slippery phenomena of everyday interaction and its connections…to the wider social world" (p. 120). Qualitative work in education contextualizes and clarifies the circumstances in which people learn. It seeks to uncover how and why students think and behave as they do and describe the complex influences that are at play in any learning experience. As such, the "thick description" (Geertz, 1973) that qualitative work demands was appropriate for this investigation.

Within the larger body of interpretive qualitative work, ethnographic research focuses on providing a holistic picture, examining everyday experiences from multiple perspectives and through multiple methods. Over time, and in the natural settings of lived experience, ethnographic studies of education provide insight into how and why people make the choices they do and what impact these choices have on their own learning, those with whom they interact, and the settings in which they work. Ethnographic studies of learning to teach gather data over time, in the many settings where teachers learn, drawing on interviews with various participants, observations in the several settings in which learning takes place, and artifacts related to these settings, such as course syllabi, lesson plans, and student work. This type of research focuses on depth over breadth.

The QCS project, and the study described here, are interpretive qualitative research studies that draw on aspects of ethnographic methodology. These studies examine learning to teach over time and in various settings, and collect data in the form of interviews, observations, and artifacts to develop as complete a picture as possible of the process of learning to teach. In the spirit of sociocultural theory, the project envisions learning to teach as occurring in the interrelated cultures of the university, the K-12 school, and larger society. Ethnographic methods allow researchers to develop a more thorough understanding of these various settings and their influence on new teachers. Muncey and McQuillan (n.d.) explained, "Ethnography acknowledges and emphasizes that what happens in the lunchroom, in the teachers' lounge, and after school directly and indirectly influences the teacher's performance and success or failure in the classroom" (p. 16). In addition, for new teachers, what happens in teacher education coursework, and in conversations with faculty, supervisors, and peers further influences novice teachers' development. The QCS project and this study attempt to capture all of this complexity over time.

The longitudinal nature of this research is also important. The longitudinal model allows the researcher to observe change, and to revise critical themes as data emerge. Further, the relationship developed over time between the researcher and the participants allows for greater depth and honesty in responses (Muncey & McQuillan, n.d.). As I indicate in the literature review, there are very few studies that look at learning to teach so deeply over several years. Thus, both the larger study and this dissertation have the potential to add significant depth to the field's knowledge of learning to teach, and learning to teach for social justice, over time.

Within the interpretive qualitative tradition, a case study research design is particularly well suited to capturing the complexity of learning to teach over time. In general, case study methodology emphasizes the use of multiple sources of evidence to explore a particular phenomenon. Yin (2003) defended the use of case study research as an essential form of social science inquiry because it is "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (p. 13). In the case of studying learning to teach in a program with a stated social justice agenda, case study methodology provides a way to capture the nuances of personal experience and contextual factors as new teachers learn at the university and in their K-12 schools.

Participants

For the larger QCS project, participants were assembled for the 2005-2006 master's level cohort of teacher education students in the School of Education at Hill University. Researchers recruited participants from foundation classes during the cohort's entering summer term. The following restrictions were placed on any prospective participants: a) they had not had experience as a fulltime classroom teacher; b) they planned on completing the master's program within one year (four consecutive semesters); and c) they planned on teaching in the local area following graduation. Each potential participant was invited to a 20-minute interview with one of three researchers who were members of the QCS team. These interviews were used to ensure that candidates met the requirements stated above, that they showed interest and dedication to the research project, and that they were articulate and forthcoming in response to open-ended questions in an interview situation. Interviewers compiled notes on each candidate

and the full QCS team met to choose each cohort of qualifying participants that represented elementary and secondary levels, included a range of curriculum areas at the secondary level, and reflected the gender and minority diversity of Hill's master's program. Three participants were assigned to each doctoral student researcher. Each researcher maintained responsibility for all communication, interviews, observations, and artifact collection for their participants across the three-year period. Participants were encouraged to choose their own pseudonym, which was used in identification and discussion for the term of the research. All participants signed informed consent prior to their initial interviews.

Participants in the study received an honorarium of $1000 for their participation in the study, which included six interviews, five classroom observations, and providing samples of their major course assignments from Hill and their pupils' class work during their pre- and full- practicum. They received an honorarium of $500 for participation in the second year of the study, their first year of teaching, which included three interviews, four classroom observations, and collection of three sets of pupils' class work. In the third year of the study, the continuing participants did not receive compensation. The third year involved two interviews for those who were still teaching and one for those who had left teaching, two class-sets of pupil work, and selected observation.

The two participants who were the focus of this dissertation were both young White women who attended the Hill University School of Education for a one-year master's degree in 2005-06. Both graduated from the program on time and began teaching directly following the program. Both teachers would be considered highly qualified by any definition: they graduated from prestigious 4-year colleges, majored in

the subject they went on to teach, and had considerable content knowledge and a range of work experience outside of school. Elsie Reynolds came directly to the master's program after completing her college degree and was prepared to teach secondary English. She student taught at a suburban Catholic school near the town where she grew up, and then was hired by the school for her first year of teaching. At the end of her first year, she was told that the school would not renew her contract and she decided to pursue work in educational publishing.

Lola Werner worked for three years in consulting before she returned to school to earn her master's in elementary education. She came from a family of teachers, had always been interested in teaching, and had found her work in consulting unfulfilling. She was an "Urban Scholar", Hill University's one-year intensive urban teacher preparation Master's program, in a racially diverse 5th grade classroom in Boston. She was then hired to teach middle school science at a well-respected charter school in Boston with a primarily black and Latino student population. After her first year teaching, she moved to a different city on the east coast where she continued teaching middle school science in a charter school that was nearly 100% black and low-income. As of this writing, she is teaching at a new charter school in the same city. The school is more racially and economically diverse than her previous school. She continues to teach middle school science. She has continued with the project and the most recent interview with her occurred in December, 2008.

Research Sites

Hill University is a Jesuit university on the outskirts of a large urban center on the East Coast. Hill serves approximately 15,000 undergraduate and graduate students, and

prides itself on providing a strong liberal arts education while also attending to the Jesuit mission of "preparing men and women for others." Five themes, displayed on all course syllabi, form the philosophical framework for all School of Education programs. Prominent among these themes is the focus of "promoting social justice," representing the School of Education's effort to encourage faculty and students to "challenge inequities in the social order and work to establish a more just society."

The focus of this study was the Master's level teacher candidates. The standard program of study for Master's students includes a series of teaching methods courses and foundations courses as well as two practicum experiences. During the first semester pre-practicum, teacher candidates observe veteran teachers from anywhere from one to four days a week and teach a few lessons. They also meet regularly with a supervisor who observes these lessons and provides feedback. The second semester is devoted to student teaching. Teacher candidates are in the classroom all semester, and are responsible for considerable lesson planning and instruction. A unique aspect of the program, the Inquiry Seminar, is a two-semester course during which teacher candidates identify a research question related to pupil learning, create a research design, conduct the study during their student teaching, and consider the implications for their teaching. In addition, as I describe in the chapter about Lola Werner, the School of Education has a specific program, the "Urban Scholars" program, which is devoted specifically to preparing urban educators.

All of the K-12th grade schools where the two case study teachers spent time, from their pre-practicum school sites to each of the schools where they worked as full-time teachers, were visited as part of this research (the exception being Lola's most

recent school). Some of the schools where the participants worked were very familiar with the Hill program and some did not have much experience receiving Hill student teachers or participating in research. In all cases, the principals consented to my presence in the school. In addition, cooperating teachers permitted me to observe in the classroom and were willing to be interviewed for the study.

The school where Lola completed her student teaching placement is a long-time partner of Hill, where many of the "Urban Scholars" are placed, and where several graduates of the program work. In addition, the principal of the school is well connected to Hill. Elsie's student teaching took place at a school close to her home and almost 40 miles from the university. The school had minimal experience with student teachers and even less experience with the Hill program. However, despite the lack of familiarity, the school was willing to open the doors to the study. However, at this school, where Elsie was hired as a full-time teacher, meeting with the principal never occurred, due to circumstances related to Elsie's supervision and her contract not being renewed. At the schools where Lola worked, the principals, who were less familiar with Hill than the principal at her student teaching site, willingly granted permission for observation and agreed to participate in an interview. However, due to the high profile of one of the schools, it was very important to them that the information about the school be thoroughly disguised.

Researcher Access & Role

As a member of the QCS team assigned to their cases, I met Elsie and Lola in August 2005, as they were finishing their summer coursework prior to the first full semester of the master's program. They both volunteered to be in the first cohort of

participants, and I have continued to interview and observe them since 2005, traveling to their schools, meeting them on Hill's campus, or visiting them at their homes, to conduct interviews.

During the time that I have known Elsie and Lola, they have moved, struggled with personal relationships, made significant life changes, and grown as teachers and individuals. In turn, they have helped me think about how to design assignments and workshops for other Hill students and challenged my thinking about teaching. They have opened their classrooms to me, provided samples of their own work, their assignments, and their pupils' work. Most important, they have been unfalteringly honest and reflective about their experiences, their challenges, and their enduring questions.

Suad Joseph (1996) described that in her work in Camp Trad, a refugee camp in Lebanon near her birthplace, she "often naturalized rather than theorized the similarities between [herself] and Camp Trad persons" because of her own shared cultural identity (p. 109). She described how, over time, it became difficult to maintain a "research attitude" toward her neighbors as they came to be dear friends. At times during the conduct of research and in the stages of analysis, I found myself in a similar situation—having been a young White female teacher myself, I felt a certain kinship and affinity with Elsie and Lola both because of our shared backgrounds and the time we spent together. Being so close to their experience and background, I had to be vigilant that I did not only see their experiences through the lens of my familiarity with them. In particular, I needed to be careful not to neglect the perspective of their students, or of their mentors and administrators. It was important for me to keep this in mind as I conducted my analysis.

Thus, I was careful to draw from a range of data and perspectives to triangulate any emergent findings.

Data Collection and Sources

The goal of this study was to examine all aspects of the Learning to Teach conceptual framework (see Appendix B), attending to what new teachers bring with them to the teacher education program, and how they experience the program, their field experiences, and their school sites. In turn, the study examined how the teachers practiced teaching and what their students did, all with a particular focus on learning to teach for social justice. The data are described below. In addition, Table 3.1 delineates the specific data that was collected and analyzed for this dissertation.

Table 3.1: Overview of Data Sources

Data Source	Description	Frequency	Totals
Teacher Interviews I-XII	Entire corpus of interview data with 2 teachers in case study	60-90 minute interviews	1 participant x 12 interviews; 1 participant x 10 interview
Teacher Observations I-VIII	Observations of 2 teacher candidates/graduates in full-practicum classroom and in their own teaching jobs	75-120 minute observations	2 participants x 8 observations + additional 2 observations for 1 participant, year 3(annotated)= 18 observations
Teacher Inquiry Projects & Other Coursework	2 Inquiry Projects completed in 2006, plus additional coursework provided to researcher		2 projects + approximately 6 additional assignments per teacher
Auxiliary Interviews related to two teachers	15-40 minute interviews conducted in Spring of 2006 and Spring of 2007	Two participants' cooperating teachers, supervisors, administrators, and mentors	7 interviews
Pupil Work Samples			

	Class sets of pupil work	Full class sets of 20-30 students for each teacher's full-practicum and first year teaching. Will look at high, medium, and low samples and link to interviews about the work	Total of 6-9 samples per teacher = 12-18 samples of pupil work
Interviews with Hill Faculty	45 minute-1 hour interviews	One interview with each faculty member	7 interviews
Course syllabi	Fall 2005-Spring 2006	Syllabi for 8-10 classes	8-10

The study described here had two layers of data. The first layer drew on all the data collected for two participants over the course of three years. This data include 10-12 interviews with the participants, conducted over two to three years; additional interviews conducted with administrators, cooperating teachers, mentors and supervisors; a minimum of 8 observations per participant; a minimum of three class sets of pupil work, collected over two-three years; additional examples of teacher tasks assigned during the two-three years; and selected samples of the teacher candidates' coursework. The second layer of data investigated the teacher education program itself and included 7 interviews with teacher education faculty and samples of program syllabi and materials. As I describe, the data for the study were drawn from the QCS project, in which I was a core

researcher. Below I describe the cooperative process employed by the researchers in developing the interview and observational protocols.

Interviews with Participants

Drawing on a wide range of studies that investigate learning to teach and the experience of new teachers, including the work of Susan Moore Johnson (2004) and studies conducted at the National Center for Research on Teacher Education (Kennedy, Ball, & McDiarmid, 1993), the QCS team developed semi-structured interview protocols through a rigorous and systematic group process. The semi-structured interviews enabled the researchers to guide the conversation using consistent general questions and probes, yet still provided flexibility to probe further or pursue another important topic, depending on the experiences of our participants as well as our own research interests. In designing each protocol, the QCS team discussed the overarching purpose of the interview. Next, a smaller group of team members drafted a protocol and returned to the larger group for comments and revisions. Team members then piloted the revised protocol with two teacher candidates or classroom teachers who shared similar criteria with our study participants. Based on the pilot, team members completed suggested changes to both the content and organization of the protocol and then brought the revised version to the QCS team for final approval. This iterative process was followed for each interview protocol, providing consistency and validity across multiple interviewers.

During Year One, researchers followed participants through the pre-service period, documenting how they understood and experienced course work, student teaching, and the interrelationship among program elements. During this time, six interviews, varying

in length from 1-2 hours, were conducted with each participant. The interviews focused on the following topics:

- Interview 1: educational background, program and teaching expectations
- Interview 2: pre-practicum experience
- Interview 3: teacher education and A&S coursework
- Interview 4: full-practicum experience
- Interview 5: assessment and pupil learning
- Interview 6: general program experience, expectations for how this will influence teaching, and future plans.

In addition to the topics above, questions about pupil learning and social justice were included in each interview to explore participants' developing conceptions of these central themes of the QCS project. This longitudinal design allowed researchers to examine teacher candidate experience from the participants' perspective over time.

During the second year of the study, three two-hour interviews were used to document the first-year teaching experience. These interviews linked the pre-service experience to the realities of the classroom teaching and life as a first-year teacher. The interviews included a continued focus on the central themes of the QCS project introduced in Year One, teaching for social justice and pupil outcomes, as well as additional topics deemed important during the first year. These included:

- Interview 7: general experiences as first-year teacher, mentoring and induction
- Interview 8: pupil learning, assessment, social justice
- Interview 9: overview of first year, future plans, reflection on preliminary research findings concerning pupil learning and social justice

The team's original research plan did not include a third- or fourth-year design. However, due to the desire to enhance the longitudinal nature of the design and because of strong relationships built with the teachers over the course of the study, the project was extended with a modified design. During the third year, the novice teachers who were still teaching were interviewed twice, once during the first semester and once at the conclusion of the school year. The teachers who were no longer teaching were only interviewed once. The interviews were similar in structure to those conducted in Year 2 with a focus on the QCS project themes of pupil learning and social justice. Specifically the interviews focused on:

- Interview 10: differences between the first and second years of teaching, pupil learning and social justice.
- Interview 11: big picture perceptions of the role as teacher and completion of a longitudinal teacher growth chart.
- Interview 12: any changes in teaching experience, issues of satisfaction and retention, additional themes related to project revisited.

The Interview 11 protocol included a longitudinal examination of the teachers' perception of their growth as teachers over time. First, teachers completed the graphic in a general way, and then they were asked to divide their growth into three strands– development of content knowledge, pedagogy and practice, and understanding of the role of the teacher. The team hoped to gain a sense of both how teachers conceived of growth, and their own strengths and weaknesses, and to understand how teachers viewed their growth during the various stages of learning to teach: prior to teacher preparation, during teacher education coursework, during the student teaching experience, and finally, during the first and second years of teaching. (See Appendix C for all interview protocols.)

Observations

The QCS research team conducted K-12 classroom observations during student teaching and the first year of teaching. In keeping with the central themes of the research, the team developed an observation protocol, drawing on various existing instruments (for a complete listing of attributions, see Appendix D) to capture the teaching practices, pupil learning, and the pupils' exposure to issues of social justice that occurred within the classroom and school contexts. The full observation protocol required the researcher to compile observation notes, categorize these data into a chronology of events, create a script for these events, and begin analysis by providing a general overview of the content of the lesson, pedagogical approaches and opportunities for learning provided by the teacher, pupil learning and assessment, social justice and classroom environment.

Prior to the beginning of the observation, researchers gathered demographic data about the school, including the racial and economic demographics if available, the MCAS scores and other school indicators, the number of teachers and administrators, the per pupil expenditure, the percentage of certified teachers, and other data the researcher could gather from the school or Department of Education website. The protocol also asked the researcher to rate the classroom and school resources (e.g. library resources or technology) and environment (e.g. postings on walls or cleanliness). This part of the protocol could be completed with the research participant, which provided a more complete picture and also lent insight into the participants' assessment of the school.

At the beginning of each observation, the researcher recorded details about the context of the classroom and the pupils present. This included an informal account of pupils' gender and race and any other characteristics the researcher could discern about

the pupils from initial observation. In addition, the observation asked for specific information about the set up of the room, visuals displayed on the walls, and the presence of any additional adults. Researchers also recorded interactions that occurred prior to the formal start of the lesson. In general, these data allowed for an initial assessment of classroom climate.

The bulk of the observation was a scripting of the events that occur. During the observation, researchers focused on the teaching, learning, and social justice events to guide their observation notes. Teaching practices include the content and pedagogy and the apparent expectations of students. Pupil learning is understood to be the academic, social, and emotional learning that occurs. Social justice is understood to include the classroom climate, pupils' exposure to social justice issues, the teacher's attention to issues of equity, and an inquiry approach. Though there was not a tape recording of the observation, the researcher captured, as much as possible, the activities and quotations from each event as well as her or his commentary about these events.

Following the observation, the researcher categorized the scripted data into a chronology of events based on the number of transitions that occurred during the course of the observation. For example, a chronology might include the following: the teacher greeting and attendance taking, followed by a read aloud activity, followed by the teacher modeling the next activity for the students and soliciting questions, followed by seatwork, and then concluded with discussion and assignment of homework. This would represent 5 discrete activities in the chronology. This helps organize the observation and aids in the reading and discussion of a considerable quantity of data.

Finally, the researcher turned to preliminary analysis of these data. The researcher's goal with this part of the protocol was to capture the general tone of the observation and include evaluative remarks by the researcher indicating what stood out, and what was consistent with or divergent from the teacher candidates' previous lessons. Thus, the researcher included a brief summary of what occurred, and identified indicators of the teaching practices, pupil learning, and social justice events observed. These indicators are provided in the protocol as a set of guidelines. These guidelines provided the researcher with the kinds of activities or behaviors that might indicate the presence (or notable absence) of teaching, learning, and social justice, such as the presence of higher order thinking or the promotion of students' emotional development. As mentioned, the protocol and these indicators were based on a wide range of research and attributions are included in Appendix D. The researcher then selected particularly representative excerpts from the script to highlight the indicators selected.

In addition to K-12 classroom observations, during the fall of 2005, researchers observed participants' university courses, specifically, secondary and elementary methods courses. These observations were made available as scripts rather than written up in the same fashion as the teacher observations. However, they still provide considerable detail about what happened in methods courses.

Artifacts

For each teacher candidate, efforts were made to collect some of the major assignments completed in courses, as well as the capstone Inquiry Projects. In addition, the candidates/graduates provided many samples of their assignments from their student teaching and first year teaching, and provided several class sets of pupil work from both

years. For Lola, I also have samples of assignments and class sets of pupil work for her second year teaching. In addition to the observations of courses, additional data about the teacher education program have been collected. Specifically, syllabi from the courses observed, as well as additional syllabi from other courses have been collected. Documents related to the program such as program mission and goals were also included.

Auxiliary Interviews

As well as the many interviews conducted with the teacher candidates, participants' cooperating teachers and their Hill University supervisors were interviewed. In the first year of teaching, researchers interviewed a mentor selected by the participant, and the principal or administrator familiar with the participant's work. For Lola, the principal of the school she moved to in her second year was also interviewed. In addition, to aid in capturing the experience of learning to teach in Hill's program, the QCS team conducted interviews with select School of Education faculty during the fall 2005**.**

Data Analysis

An inductive approach was employed for the analysis presented in this dissertation. First, interview data were coded utilizing codes that the research team had developed for the overall study. These codes were developed by the QCS team through a collective, multi-stage effort that began with a general discussion of the first set of interviews and focused on broad themes of the research: notions/conceptions about the nature of teaching, social justice, teacher quality, and pupil learning. Codes were then developed through a rigorous and collaborative process, in which excerpts of data were read by groups of researchers and codes were proposed that reflected the content reviewed. These preliminary codes were then used with other interview transcripts, and

again revised and defined. Each stage of preliminary coding involved considerable group discussion, and eventually overall categories and codes within each category were determined. Preliminary coding and group discussion increased the reliability of our analysis as all researchers were engaged in these defining discussions, conducted over a period of several months. To further clarify codes, definitions and excerpts were assigned to each code (See Appendix E for examples from the coding dictionary).

These codes provided a useful way to reduce the data and begin preliminary analysis for my dissertation, but they were more general than what I ultimately employed to investigate the specific questions of my study. For example, there was only one general code for social justice, applied to comments where the interviewee explicitly used the term social justice or responded to a question about social justice. There were generally long excerpts of interview data coded this way. This level of analysis allowed me to find large excerpts of data for further investigation, but did not provide deeper analysis of how the teachers thought about or practiced social justice.

Before I began the next stage of coding, I read the entire corpus of data for each participant and wrote comprehensive narratives for each of these participants. The narratives included information about the teachers' backgrounds, schooling experiences, entering beliefs and characteristics. The narratives also traced the teachers' experiences over their several years in the study, drawing on data from their interviews, interviews with their supervisors, cooperating teachers and mentors, observations of their teaching, samples of their teacher education coursework, and samples of their students' work to chart their learning opportunities, their reflections, and their practices over time. These narratives allowed me to get a sense, holistically, of the two case study teachers'

experiences of learning to teach over time. In particular, the narratives focused on the teachers' evolving understandings of social justice, their ideas about content and pedagogy, and their practice.

Once these narratives were completed, I returned to the interview data for another pass through it, focusing more specifically on my research interest in learning to teach in a social justice program. I reviewed the large excerpts of interview data that had already been coded "Social Justice", noting themes as they emerged that indicated how the teachers understood the idea of teaching for social justice. In this process, I looked for themes to emerge from the data rather than trying to impose ideas from the literature (Charmaz, 2000). Thus, at this stage of analysis, I worked inductively, reading the data, and identifying main ideas that appeared in the two case study teachers' social justice coded interview material. Due to the inductive nature of the coding process, I did not expect the two teachers to have entirely compatible codes. Therefore, I coded all of Lola's interview data separately from all of Elsie's data, assuming that the themes that emerged might be different for each of them.

Drawing on Glaser & Strauss' (1967) concept of axial coding, I was interested in how the initial codes and categories were conceptually or theoretically related to one another. In other words, in the original QCS codes, codes such as "social justice" were separated from other codes such as "expectations pupils" or "race." However, the ideas about social justice that the teachers articulated often overlapped with other ideas they expressed, even when they were not discussed in terms of social justice. For example, Lola might discuss teaching for social justice in terms of race at one point in an interview and, later, discuss a race issue without referencing social justice explicitly.

Therefore, after I had identified the main themes that emerged from the social justice coded material for each of the participants, I returned to the original codes from the QCS data to identify other codes that matched themes that had emerged from the teachers' social justice-related excerpts. For example, when Lola discussed social justice, she spoke at length about the idea of expectations for her students. Therefore, I examined all of Lola's interview data that had been coded "Expectations Pupils" in the original QCS coding process. For Elsie, she often spoke about caring for her students as central to her idea of social justice. Therefore, for Elsie, I went back and looked at all of Elsie's interview data that had been coded "Interaction Pupils." For each of the teachers, there were approximately 10 additional codes from the original QCS codes that I reviewed because the ideas encapsulated in these codes linked to the teachers' specific understandings of social justice.

After reviewing all these data, I was able to identify each teacher's main themes related to social justice and developed an additional 12 sub-codes related specifically to the two case study teachers' conceptions of teaching for social justice. I returned to the interview data and used these new codes to conduct another layer of analysis of all the interview data, including the auxiliary interviews from cooperating teachers, mentors, administrators, and the faculty.

Initially, I thought I would have different codes for the two teachers, as their understandings were quite different. However, it turned out that the codes were general enough that many of them applied to both teachers, although the frequency of some codes was much higher for one participant than for another. For example, "Building Relationships with Students" was a much more frequent code for Elsie than for Lola,

whereas the codes "Bridging the Racial Divide" and "White Teacher" appeared far more frequently for Lola. In fact, it turned out that having the same codes for both teachers allowed me to look across the cases to consider how their ideas and practices of social justice differed.

After this final stage of coding the interview data, I undertook a process of memo writing to help clarify the ideas I found emerging from the interview data. In particular, the memo writing helped me to identify change over time. For example, whereas Lola's early discussion of social justice rarely referred to critical thinking, this became a salient theme for her in the middle of her first year of full-time teaching. For Elsie, whereas she spoke about race issues, academic tracking, and equity in a few early interviews, there was very little reference to these ideas after she began her student teaching. From these research memos, I began to investigate not only how the teachers' understandings changed over time, but also what might have accounted for these changes.

In addition, memo writing helped me to avoid too myopic a focus on the interview data. I used the memos to help me triangulate emerging ideas in light of the range of information I had about the teachers' practices over time. This included information from observations of their teaching; their cooperating teachers, supervisors, mentors, and principals interviews; and their students' work. Observational data, in particular, were reviewed in detail, and analyzed, as described in the section on the observation protocol, according to a collection of topics including classroom content, pedagogy, pupil learning opportunities, classroom culture and management, and relationships. The annotated records of the observations highlighted events that stood out either as representative of the kind of activities or events that occurred in the teacher's

classroom, or as diverging from the general tone of her class. These examples of classroom practice provided powerful examples of the enactment of the teachers' ideas, as well as important information about the contexts of the K-12 schools where they worked.

I paid particular attention to how these observations related to the themes that had emerged from the analysis of interview data. For example, in Elsie's case, as I describe in Chapter 6, she talked at length about how she felt it was necessary to modify her expectations to match the students she encountered in class. Observations of her teaching provided confirmatory evidence that she had, indeed, shifted her expectations and her practices. Observations of Elsie's teaching helped to triangulate my emerging hypothesis that she modified, and ultimately lowered, her expectations for student learning over the course of her time in teaching. In this way, memo writing allowed me to continuously check developing hypotheses against other data sources, and consider the teacher both individually and in the contexts of her teacher education and school sites.

Through this iterative process of memo writing and coding and recoding the data, I began to see patterns and themes within and across the two case study teachers' experiences (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). In addition, exploring the changes in the teachers' understandings and practices over time, as this related to the codes I had developed, informed my understanding of how the various discourses they encountered influenced their process of ideological becoming. Ultimately, this led me to develop the idea of 5 general discourses of social justice that reflected the many ideas that the case study teachers both brought to teacher education and were exposed to in the contexts of the program and their schools. The discourses, which I describe in greater detail in Chapter 4,

are: a discourse of expectations; of responsibility; of race, culture, and equity; of practice; and of relationships. These discourses were developed as I related the additional sub-codes to one another, compared the experiences of the two teachers, and looked across their interviews and other data.

What is salient to a discussion of data analysis is that these discourses are general enough to include all of the ideas represented by the social justice-related codes I developed, and allowed me to look across the teachers to explore their experiences as they compared to one another. For example, each teacher explored a discourse of expectations as a central aspect of her process of learning to teach for social justice, but how they interpreted the idea of expectations and enacted their ideas were quite different. Thus, the codes that I developed as "hold high expectations" and "maintain expectations", which emerged from the interview data from the teachers, both fall under the general discourse of expectations yet represent the two teachers' very different understandings of expectations. Table 3.2 outlines the discourses of social justice, the codes associated with each of these discourses, the definitions of the codes, and the number of occurrences of each of these codes for each teacher.

Table 3.2: Discourses of Social Justice and Corresponding Codes with Definitions and Number of Excerpts for each Case Study Teacher

Discourse Theme	Code	Definition	Number of Coded Excerpts	
Expectations	Holding High Expectations	This refers to the ideas of "pushing kids", noticing and promoting students' potential, establishing a classroom and school culture of	Lola 44	Elsie 2

		expectations and high standards; and also refers to the role of standardized testing and grades.		
	Maintaining or Holding Realistic Expectations	This refers to meeting kids where they are, carrying the kids through the texts, figuring out their skills before setting expectations, modifying grading based on how they perform.	0	50
Race	Bridging the Racial Divide	This refers to all the comments in which the teacher talks about bringing the races together, narrowing the achievement gap; the us vs. them dynamic, and hatred toward whites.	29	10
	Promoting Multiple Perspectives and Challenging Biases	This refers to the teachers' discussion of it being difficult to get through to students, promoting empathy, exposing kids to different perspectives, reducing bias and prejudice, promoting understanding of different ideas, issue based discussions.	0	19
	White Teacher	This refers to comments about being a white teacher.	20	0
Relationships	Meeting all Students Needs	This refers to making the classroom a safe place to learn, expecting respect among students and toward teacher,	38	64

		developing a trusting environment, promoting a love of learning, not boring the strong students, scaffolding instruction, dealing with the range of learning abilities.		
	Building Relationships with Students	This refers to being accepted by students, feeling liked or hated, getting used to each other, knowing about the kids' lives outside of school, and loving the kids.	25	51
	White Teacher	This refers to comments about being a white teacher.	20	0
Practice	Building Basic Skills	This refers to the idea of teaching students basic skills, promoting students' basic skill development, such as times tables or central concepts in science, drilling students.	29	6
	Establishing Structure and Routine	This refers to the idea of establishing clear boundaries regarding classroom management/behavior as well as curricular strategies; also relates to the follow-through and consistency in expectations and the overall running of the classroom.	38	8
	Employing Hands on and Multiple	This refers to innovating approaches, hands-on work, lab-work, multiple ways of conveying content, group	30	32

	Strategies	work, acting, etc.		
	Meeting all Students' Needs	This refers to making the classroom a safe place to learn, expecting respect among students and toward teacher, developing a trusting environment, promoting a love of learning, not boring the strong students, scaffolding instruction, dealing with the range of learning abilities.	38	64
	Promoting Critical Thinking	This refers to the times when teacher talks about level of thinking, inquiry-based teaching, kids' becoming the experts, asking good questions, and critical thinking.	15	9
Responsibility	Establishing Structure and Routine	This refers to the idea of establishing clear boundaries regarding classroom management/behavior as well as curricular strategies; also relates to the follow-through and consistency in expectations and the overall running of the classroom.	38	8
	Taking Responsibility for Students' Learning	This refers to the discussions about pushing students, seeing their potential, not giving up, reasonably gauging their skill and ability and also to comments related to students' effort and letting go. This may also be the	63	54

	place to talk about holding students accountable, comments about students' effort or laziness, and the students' habits.

It is important to note that, in qualitative research, particularly when referring to coding of interview data, any attempt to "quantify" data can be problematic. This is in part because teachers' references to the ideas embodied in these codes might have been, in one place, extensive commentary that lasted several pages and, in another instance, a few sentences. However, as the only researcher to code this data, although the excerpts might have varied in length, there was consistency in coding across the two case study teachers and from interview to interview. Thus, examining the number of excerpts--particularly the number of times certain codes appeared in each interview--helped to clarify the main thrust of the teachers' ideas at different points in their development and suggested places to probe further. For example, I noted that Elsie had almost no reference to "White teacher" whereas she had many more comments about "multiple perspectives." As I illustrate in her case study, the fact that she taught primarily white students influenced her discourse of race such that she was more interested in eliminating bias among her White students than she was in exploring the role of a White teacher. This was, in many ways, the opposite from Lola's experience and resulting discourse of race. Looking at the presence and number of times a code appeared over time pointed toward themes, like this one, to explore further.

In addition to careful analysis of the teacher-related data, I also analyzed seven faculty interviews. Using the stages of coding described above, I coded faculty interviews

to determine the main concepts that guided their understandings of social justice, and in turn, the discourses of the program. I also examined course syllabi and artifacts from the program. Although these data were definitely supplementary to this research, this analysis provided a picture of the program's philosophy and practice of social justice-oriented teacher education in the 2005-2006 academic year. In addition, I drew on this additional data as it related to the case study teachers' understandings of the program discourses, to help make sense of why the teachers' might have struggled with particular ideas or discourses and how they might have interpreted certain ideas in the context of their work.

Integrity of the Study

A particular strength of this dissertation is the depth and breadth of data I gathered over several years. As I suggest in Chapter Two, there is very little research in teacher education that follows teachers into their third year in the classroom, and includes interviews with the teachers and those who influenced them, observations of their teaching, and teacher candidate and pupil work. With this range of data, this dissertation was able to probe deeply into the experiences of learning to teach for two teachers and, in developing a theory about the process of learning to teach, was able to draw on a wealth of data over time. Thus, I was able to triangulate the data using a range of sources.

In addition, in order to further ensure the trustworthiness of my analysis, I considered Anfara, Brown, and Mangione's (2002) critique of qualitative research for its lack of methodological rigor and transparency. I have attempted, as described above, to draw on some of the strategies they proposed, including developing matrices of the coded data to deliberately chart how I moved from initial codes to the themes these codes

revealed. Between the triangulation provided by multiple data sources over several years, and careful and deliberate analysis of these data, I have intended to be more transparent in my process and challenge the common criticism that qualitative work is strictly anecdotal or that it is secretive in its procedures of analyses.

In addition, as I describe above, this dissertation was part of a larger study of 22 teacher candidates/graduates over four years. As a member of the research group who designed the study and carried out the research, I benefited from what Hill, Thompson and Williams (1997) called a "consensual" approach to qualitative data analysis. In this approach, researchers collectively employ inductive analyses to build explanations from the bottom up. With consensual qualitative research, all the data are collected using the same protocol to provide consistency across responses, and a team of researchers is used to arrive at "consensus judgments" (p. 521). Although my dissertation was an individual effort, much of the work to develop interview and observation protocols, conduct preliminary analyses, and explore emergent findings occurred in the context of this larger research group. As a result, I had the benefit of testing theories on other researchers familiar with the data. This collective process lends additional trustworthiness to my findings.

CHAPTER FOUR: LEARNING TO TEACH IN A PROGRAM WITH A SOCIAL JUSTICE AGENDA AS AN IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE

"Social justice" has become an increasingly popular slogan in teacher education (Grant & Agosto, 2008), so much so that Zeichner (2006) argued that it is difficult to find a teacher education program in the United States that does not claim to have the goal of preparing teachers for social justice. Yet, there remain many questions about what teacher education for social justice really is in practice. These questions include how ideas about social justice affect the experience of learning to teach, and what impact a social justice agenda has on teachers' beliefs and practices and on their students' learning. This dissertation was designed to examine these questions in the context of a program with a stated social justice agenda. It does so by exploring the experience of two young teachers as they advanced through the program and began their careers in teaching.

The overall question that guided this research had to do with the experience of learning to teach for teacher candidates/recent graduates who were prepared in a program with a stated social justice agenda. While much previous work, as reviewed in Chapter 2, has sought to define what teacher education for social justice should be, this dissertation was designed to examine the realities that students in a program with a social justice agenda encountered as they learn to teach. With that in mind, this study focuses on teacher candidates'/graduates' experiences in one program that makes social justice a central and guiding mission.

In this chapter, I present a conceptual framework for looking at the experience of learning to teach in a program with a stated social justice agenda. The framework provides a way to understand the particular experiences of learning to teach for the two

teachers who are the subject of this study. It also raises many questions about how people learn to teach, in particular in social justice-oriented programs. The framework is intended to offer a way of interpreting the experiences of learning to teach; it is not meant to prescribe a particular method or strategy for teacher education.

Learning to Teach as an Ideological Struggle

This dissertation is grounded in a sociocultural perspective and assumes that learning to teach occurs through a complex interaction among teachers' prior experiences, teacher education coursework and field experiences, school-based contexts, and larger societal contexts. This analysis is based on four years of qualitative data for two cases from a larger study of learning to teach as well as the rich body of literature on learning to teach and Bakhtin's theories of discourse and ideological becoming. I argue that learning to teach is a complex, ongoing, and non-linear process of negotiating various ideological positions, not all of which are experienced by teacher candidates/graduates in the same way. When a program focuses specifically on social justice, the challenges associated with this ideological struggle may be heightened: the discourses may be more passionate, compelling, and in conflict with one another than they are when preparation does not have such a focus. I further argue that teacher candidates'/graduates' ability to develop an authentic and sustaining perspective about social justice is influenced by the contexts in which their learning takes place, the support they have in negotiating the various challenges and tensions associated with learning to teach for social justice, and their own personal readiness to handle the conflicts they encounter.

Characterizing learning to teach in a program with a social justice agenda as an ideological struggle is based on the deep and rich data of this study, and is informed by the research on learning to teach, Bakhtin's theory of ideological becoming, and recent theories of social justice in education, all of which are reviewed in Chapter 2. A central tenet running through this work is that learning, development, and change can only occur through an "intense struggle" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 346) in which competing and sometimes contradictory ideas must be encountered and interrogated. The resolution of this struggle is not the embrace of any particular way of thinking about the world, but recognition that the tensions one encounters are, in some ways, not resolvable. Yet, as the two cases in the next two chapters demonstrate, these tensions are also necessary for the individual teacher's learning and development and, in turn, contribute to the intellectual quality of the teachers' interpretations and practice.

The two case study teachers whose experiences are examined in detail in this dissertation were engaged in just such an ideological struggle among the many beliefs related to social justice they brought with them, and the many ideas they were exposed to in the university and the school contexts of learning to teach. As teacher candidates, they entered the program with personal beliefs about social justice that already influenced their understanding of teaching. Once they began the program, they were exposed to other powerful ideologies of social justice. Their task was to make sense of these different ideas—try them on, embrace some, reject others, and ultimately craft an authentic perspective as teachers for social justice. As the cases in the next chapters illustrate, the teachers' success depended, to a large extent, on the schools where they spent their student teaching and first years and the support they received and/or sought

out to explore the issues that were raised, as well as what they each brought with them to this process of learning to teach.

A Conceptual Framework: An Ideological Struggle That Never Ends

In this section, I offer a conceptual framework for analyzing and interpreting the process of learning to teach in a program with a social justice agenda. I draw on Bakhtin's theories, research of learning to teach, theories of teaching for social justice, and the data for the two case study teachers; these sources related to one another in an interactive and reciprocal fashion as I developed this framework. In other words, as I investigated the idea of discourses and ideological becoming, I applied the experiences of the individual teachers to these ideas. In turn, as I interpreted the data, I applied ideas about discourse, ideological becoming, and learning to teach to the participants' experiences. Thus, the data helped to develop and clarify the framework while, at the same time, the emerging framework provided a way of understanding the data, which in turn allowed for the analysis. Figure 4.1 represents this framework.

Figure 4.1: Learning to Teach in a Social Justice Program as an Ideological Struggle: A Conceptual Framework

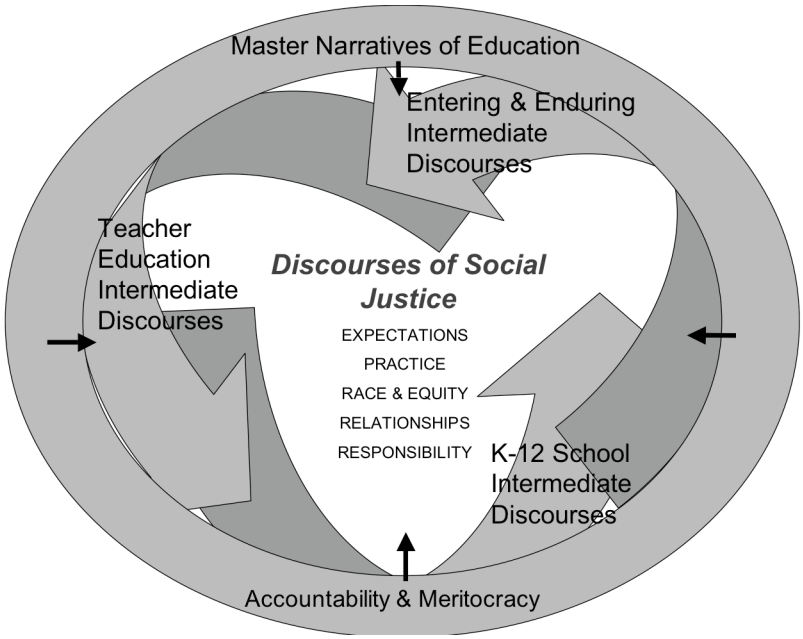


Figure 4.1 is the conceptual framework that guides this dissertation. This framework helps to explain how teachers prepared in a program with a social justice agenda learned to teach, and teases apart the various influences on their developing ideology of social justice. The outside circle represents the master narratives of accountability and meritocracy, which are dominant in the current U.S. educational context. The three large curved arrows on the inside of the circle represent the intermediate discourses that new teachers brought with them and also encountered in their teacher education programs and their K-12 school contexts. In the center of the circle are five general discourses related to social justice that the case study teachers engaged in as part of the process of learning to teach for social justice. Each of these pieces is explained in detail below.

Redefining the Discourses: Master Narratives and Intermediate Discourses

Although Bakhtin's theories of discourse have contributed a great deal to the conceptual framework described here, my analysis of the data suggested that his conceptualization of authoritative and internally persuasive discourses, described in more detail in Chapter 2, though useful, was not adequate for understanding the process of learning to teach for teachers prepared in a program with a stated social justice agenda. Rather than Bakhtin's two discourses—the authoritative and internally persuasive—I argue that three somewhat different levels of discourse are more appropriate. These are master narratives, intermediate discourses, and internally persuasive discourses. In this section, I define the first two levels of discourse: authoritative discourses or "master narratives" and intermediate discourses that are relevant to learning to teach in a program with a social justice agenda. While Bakhtin's definition of authoritative discourse is useful for understanding the relationship between individuals and powerful external discourses, some adjustment of Bakhtin's theory is necessary to adapt it to a modern teacher education context. Morson (2004) made a similar argument. Bakhtin developed his ideas about discourse in the Soviet Union during the early to mid-decades of the 20th century, and therefore his ideas emerged out of a more traditionally authoritarian context than a 21st century teacher education program. Specifically, his division between what is "authoritative" and what is "internally persuasive" seems too rigid for the modern context. In fact, the discourses that the teachers in this study encountered were generally more fluid and interchangeable than what Bakhtin imagined with his two categories of discourse.

Morson (2004) expanded Bakhtin's definition of authoritative discourse to include both "authoritarian authoritative discourse" and "nonauthoritarian authoritative discourse" (p. 230). He argued that, whereas in Bakhtin's conception, the notions of authoritative and internally persuasive discourses were adequate to cover all the discourses that individuals encounter, in the modern context, the idea of an authoritative discourse is not sufficient to capture all discourses that are not internally persuasive. Therefore, he suggested dividing authoritative discourses into those that are "authoritarian" and those that are "nonauthoritarian." Morson's "authoritarian authoritative discourse" is the kind that Bakhtin simply called authoritative—the static discourses that derive from sources of power and authority like the government or the church. Morson defined a "nonauthoritarian authoritative discourse" as one that while not internally persuasive, does not require the same unwavering allegiance as the discourses of an authoritarian government or institution. He explained:

> An authoritative word of this nonauthoritarian kind functions not as a voice speaking the Truth, but as a voice speaking the *one point of view that must be attended to.* It may be contested, rejected, or modified…but it cannot be ignored (p. 230-31).

Thus, Morson drew from Bakhtin's conception of discourse but modified it to match a more modern, and less authoritarian, historical context. Similarly, drawing on Bakhtin's ideas about discourse to understand how teachers learn to teach requires some modification of Bakhtin's definitions. I offer a somewhat different interpretation of the definitions of discourse provided so far.

Relating the idea of a static and authoritarian type of discourse to the context of learning to teach, it is useful to think of these discourses as similar to what Lyotard (1984) and others have called "master narratives" in education that come to be accepted as the norm or the truth of a particular historical epoch. These "master narratives" are the social and political "scripts" that generally support the dominant group in society and often guide social, cultural, or political mandates of a particular time (Stanley, 2007).

The idea of a "master narrative" is somewhat different from Bakhtin's definition of authoritative discourse. While Bakhtin's authoritative discourse was characterized as fairly static and immutable, master narratives are less fixed. What they have in common with authoritative discourses is the type of power and influence they wield over individuals, groups, and institutions. These discourses are often imbued with authority by the state or powerful institutions and come to be seen as taken for granted or the indisputable truth. Yet master narratives do evolve and change over time. Thus, the notion of a master narrative is subtly different from Bakhtin's "authoritative" discourse and somewhat more appropriate to the context of learning to teach today. I refer to these discourses as "master narratives." The outside circle in Figure 4.1 represents the major master narratives that currently underlie educational practice and policy in the U.S.

There are at least two particularly powerful, and interconnected, master narratives or discourses of schooling today: the discourse of accountability and the related discourse of meritocracy. Instantiations of these discourses are easy to find; they appear everywhere from national educational reports and legislation, to political speeches, to school mission statements and newspaper articles. Ever since the publication of "A Nation at Risk" in 1983, the discourse of educational reform has focused on the

crisis we face in educational achievement and the need to reform our schools, focusing on higher standards and accountability, so that the United States does not lose its competitive footing in the global economy (Cochran-Smith, 2006). Michael Apple (2006), in his recent book about the accountability movement in the United States, described how the discourse of accountability ignores the relationship between knowledge and power. He explained, "Education is too often thought of as simply the delivery of neutral knowledge to our students. In this discourse, the fundamental role of schooling is to fill students with the knowledge that is necessary to compete in today's rapidly changing world" (p. 5).

Recent editorials, government reports, and speeches of political candidates only reinforce this narrative. For example, in a recent speech to the American Council of Education, Arne Duncan, the new Secretary of Education under President Obama, emphasized both the need for more accountability and standards-based assessment, and asserted the central assumption of accountability—that the system, once aligned, would be fair because education is essentially meritocratic and rewards individuals' hard work. He described the "Barack Effect," which he explained was the powerful influence of the leadership of a president who himself had achieved his success through "education and hard work" (Duncan, 2009). Thus, even in the new era that the Obama administration may bring, the discourses of accountability and meritocracy seem to continue to drive the master narratives of education.

The master narratives of accountability and meritocracy pervade educational discourse, and reach teachers as the narratives are interpreted and instantiated in the contexts of teacher education and K-12 schools. Thus it is the intermediate discourses of

these contexts that directly affect prospective and practicing teachers in the day-to-day work of teaching. In Figure 4.1, the three arrows inside the "master narratives" circle represent the "intermediate discourses" teachers either bring with them or encounter in the process of learning to teach. These discourses have some authority and power because of their relationship to various actors; for example, prospective teachers have been exposed for many years to messages about the purposes and practices of education in their own schooling; teacher candidates are exposed to particular discourses of schooling as part of teacher preparation programs; and new teachers begin work in K-12 schools where there are also powerful discourses about schooling.

Yet these discourses are not necessarily as intimately linked to the major sources of power as the master narratives of a particular period, nor are they as inflexible as Bakhtin's notion of the "authoritative" discourse would be. I use the term "intermediate discourse" because it captures the location of these kinds of discourses, which are "intermediate" in the sense that they are located between two things in time, place, or order, or lie between two extremes. While Bakhtin offered only the extremes—discourse that was entirely outside the individual and discourse that was entirely internal, these "intermediate discourses" exist between the master narratives of the state or institution and the internally persuasive discourses individuals develop over time and through struggle. These intermediate discourses, particularly prevalent in teacher education programs or the K-12 schools, represent certain ideas, beliefs, and ways of acting that are somewhat static and to which some allegiance is expected, or at least hoped for. In this way, they are connected to some external authority. They may be versions of master narratives or reactions against them. However, these intermediate discourses are also

more flexible and local than the discourse of government education policy, and thus less static and more removed from the individual teacher. Teachers are expected to attend to the ideas presented in their teacher education coursework and in the schools where they work, but often they are invited to investigate these ideas, and even critique them.

The Intermediate Discourses of Teacher Education, K-12 Schools, and Enduring Beliefs

In the early years of learning to teach, there are at least two major contexts in which new teachers are exposed to intermediate discourses. These discourses include far more than just talk. In keeping with a sociocultural perspective, the notion of discourse presented here not only includes speech but also ideas, interpretations, and actions, and is fundamentally social. The first context where new teachers encounter an intermediate discourse is in the teacher education program. The agenda of a teacher education program—in the case of this study, a social justice agenda—acts as a kind of established discourse to which teacher candidates are exposed and one to which some allegiance is expected, or at least hoped for, by those who administer and teach in the program. However, the discourse of teacher education is neither entirely inflexible nor authoritarian. In fact, these discourses change over time as faculty come and go, as changes are made to the program in terms of mission and core curriculum, and as other discourses enter into and influence programmatic goals. In addition, teacher education programs with social justice agendas are intended—at least in part—to disrupt some of the master narratives, or traditionally authoritative discourses of education. As indicated both in the conceptual and empirical literature reviewed in Chapter 2 and in data gathered in this study, many teacher education scholars and practitioners, as well as the texts teacher candidates are assigned to read, challenge the discourses of meritocracy and

accountability that are largely taken-for-granted in society. However, it is naïve to presume that because some teacher education programs and individual faculty members challenge dominant discourses, their own alternative discourses are immune from acting as a kind of "authority" for the teacher candidates whom they prepare. Rather, as representatives of institutions who have the authority to grant a degree and recommend licensure, the discourses they promote may also have a more or less coercive quality.

Cochran-Smith (1995) confronted the question of her own role as both a professor in a position of authority and one who was challenging authority when she investigated the discourses of race and social justice that were constructed in her own teacher education classroom. She examined transcripts of her own teaching in order to acknowledge that at the same time that she tried to promote the value that all viewpoints were socially constructed and value-laden, she also argued for the "ultimate right and truth of teaching for social justice" (p. 562). In coming to terms with this paradox in her teaching, she concluded:

> As teachers of and through critical pedagogy…the best we can do is openly admit our convictions and our own agendas. Then we must acknowledge the fact that if we influence students' views about race and teaching, it is not because we open their eyes to *the truth,* but to a great extent because we use professional status and personal charisma to persuade them of the perspectives we believe will support their efforts for social justice through the orchestration of readings, written assignments, discussion topics, and school experiences (p. 562).

In this excerpt, Cochran-Smith made plain that social justice in teacher education can function both as a powerful internally persuasive discourse for the professor (and,

undoubtedly for some teacher candidates as well) and simultaneously act as a kind of authority because of the nature of the relationship between professor/program and student. This insight makes it clear that it is necessary to complicate Bakhtin's demarcation of the authoritative and internally persuasive and suggests that, in the context of learning to teach, sometimes a discourse of social justice--or equity, or anti-racism, or high standards for all--may transcend the definitions Bakhtin provided, thereby requiring a third category of intermediate discourse. As I use it here, "intermediate discourse" is somewhat different from what Morson (2004) called "nonauthoritarian authoritative discourse" because the intermediate discourse can function, as indicated by Cochran-Smith's example, as a kind of authority while also being internally persuasive for the professor and becoming internally persuasive for his or her students. In Figure 4.1, the discourses prevalent in a teacher education program are represented by an arrow inside the "master narrative" circle, signifying their position as intermediate discourses that new teachers encounter as they learn to teach.

In addition to the teacher education context, the schools where teachers begin their careers also exert powerful, albeit complicated, influences on new teachers. Early-career teachers are often particularly vulnerable to the beliefs, values, and ways of behaving that the school endorses. As such, there is often a coercive quality to the school's discourse or discourses. In fact, as some of the research cited in Chapter 2 suggests, teachers risk alienation or worse if they reject the intermediate discourse of the K-12 school. Still, as the research demonstrates, sometimes teachers do reject the intermediate discourses of their schools, with differing results.

However, K-12 school discourses exist in the same intermediate space as the social justice teacher education discourse in the sense that they may be or may become internally persuasive to new teachers. In other words, although new teachers may not be free to reject a school's discourse, they also may not want to. In fact, they may select a school based, at least in part, on the feeling that the school's stated values and beliefs are in keeping with their own ideas about teaching and learning. Thus, although the K-12 school discourse may be linked to authority, and even draw considerably from the current master narratives about education, it would be inaccurate to imply that the discourses of a K-12 school cannot become, to a greater or lesser extent, internally persuasive for the new teacher. In fact, these often do.

This suggests the need for a category of discourse that acknowledges both the authority associated with a particular discourse connected to the school while also recognizing that these discourses can influence and help to construct the internally persuasive discourses teachers develop in their process of ideological development. Just as Cochran-Smith suggests that a discourse in teacher education may be experienced by a teacher candidate both as something imbued with some authority and also may become internally persuasive to the teacher candidate over time, so too can a discourse of a K-12 school play a similar role. For example, as I describe in Chapter 5, one of the two case study teachers worked at a school that had a powerful discourse of high expectations that both drew her to the school and also became internally persuasive for her over time. In Figure 4.1, the discourses that are prevalent in the culture of the K-12 school are represented by an arrow located along the same circle as the arrow that represents the

discourses of teacher education, indicating the K-12 school's position as an intermediate discourse.

To understand the process of learning to teach, it is important to recognize that the discourses of both teacher education and K-12 schools are related in a more complicated and nuanced way to an individual teacher's process of learning to teach, or "becoming" than permitted by Bakhtin's dichotomy of discourses as either authoritative or internally persuasive permits. As suggested above, a particular discourse may be both somewhat "authoritative" for teachers and also become internally persuasive as teachers struggle to make sense of the discourse--such as a discourse of expectations--and adapt it to their circumstances and experiences. For example, Cochran-Smith (1995) argued that her ideas about race and social justice were privileged in her classes, and yet many of her students embraced these ideas and drew on them as they constructed images of themselves as teachers. Thus, the discourse may enter the new teacher's consciousness as a discourse imbued with some authority, but also might be transformed, through critical thought and interrogation (and not simply through exposure), into something internally persuasive.

This same pattern might be observed in the context of a K-12 school, in which a particular discourse of the school—for example, a discourse of high expectations or responsibility—might initially be experienced as a kind of "authoritative discourse" but, over time and through interrogation, could become internally persuasive for the individual teacher. In the cases that follow in Chapters 5 and 6, both teachers were exposed to strong ideas in their K-12 schools, such as ideas about practice or responsibility, at which they initially balked. Yet, over time, they were also drawn to

some of these same ideas and sought to incorporate and adapt them into their own evolving perspective on teaching for social justice.

In Figure 4.1, the arrows pointing in from the master narratives toward these intermediate discourses suggest that the intermediate discourses of teacher education and the schools are both embedded within larger theories of education and, in some instances, are instantiations or variations of these master narratives. In other cases, the intermediate discourses of teacher education or a particular K-12 school are reactions against or rejections of the same master narratives. For example, a K-12 school's approach to discipline and student responsibility may draw heavily from the master narrative of accountability, while a teacher education program with a social justice mission may have a discourse that is, in part, a rejection of the viewpoint that schooling is based on meritocracy. Thus, in the figure, the arrows pointing in from the master narrative are meant to represent how these master narratives in education influence and bump up against the discourses of the teacher education and the K-12 school contexts.

Finally, in the process of learning to teach, it is not enough to look only at the impact of institutions on the individual teacher. As much of the research on learning to teach and teacher identity suggests, teachers come to teaching with their own personal beliefs and experiences, and these have an enduring impact on the teachers' developing understandings and practices. Therefore, along with the influence of the teacher education program and K-12 school discourses, teachers bring their own entering and enduring discourses to this ideological struggle. However, although these entering discourses could be internally persuasive for an individual teacher, it is more likely that, at the beginning of the process of learning to teach for social justice, these entering

discourses are not internally persuasive discourses of social justice because the teacher candidates have not yet engaged in the process of interrogating, adapting, and modifying these ideas as they apply them to the experiences of teaching. It is this process of interrogation and adaptation that makes the discourses internally persuasive for the individual.

In the two case study teachers' experiences, personal beliefs influenced their initial interest in teaching and continued to play a role in their developing ideologies over time. I argue that many of these intermediate discourses, drawn from the teachers' various experiences in their own schooling, and from their families and communities, were like the intermediate discourses of teacher education and the K-12 school, in that they were instantiations or interpretations of certain master narratives, either master narratives specific to education or from society at large. For example, one of the case study teachers was an evangelical Christian and her powerful religious discourse was tied to a master narrative of Christianity. The other case study teacher entered teacher education with ideas about bridging the racial divide that were tied to a discourse of "color blindness"-- a powerful master narrative of race in the United States. In other words, the case study teachers' entering and enduring beliefs were not immune from the influence of the master narrative. In fact, I argue that these entering discourses, linked to various master narratives, were not initially internally persuasive because they had not been interrogated or applied to teaching. Yet, these entering and enduring intermediate discourses contributed to their interest in teaching and their ideological struggle as they developed. Thus, I include these beliefs along the same plane as the intermediate

discourses of teacher education and the K-12 schools. In Figure 4.1, the final arrow on the inner circle represents these enduring discourses.

Although I argue that Bakhtin's dichotomy between authoritative and internally persuasive discourses is too rigid to apply directly to the process of learning to teach, his ideas about the authority and power of various discourses do raise interesting questions about programs with social justice agendas. Specifically, how might teacher education for social justice promote both a multiplicity of discourses that are in tension with one another, and also enact a shared mission? How do various versions of social justice influence new teachers' learning and their practice? Drawing from the different levels of discourse described above, how is learning to teach influenced by the authority granted particular discourses in particular contexts, and how do new teachers negotiate the authority of these discourses as they seek to develop a unique perspective on teaching for social justice? These are critical questions to consider if educators are both to understand the influence of a social justice focus as well as challenge those who critique the idea of a social justice focus altogether. This study seeks to raise and answer some of these questions in its investigation of two teachers' processes of learning to teach in a particular social justice oriented program. In the next section, I discuss in greater detail just how the ideological struggle of learning to teach in a social justice program occurred for two teacher candidates/graduates within the context of these various discourses in tension with one another.

Internally Persuasive Discourses, Ideological Becoming, and Learning to Teach

As noted, the conceptual framework I have constructed here draws on Bakhtin's conception of ideological becoming, in particular his idea that multiple internally

persuasive discourses are in conversation and/or tension with one another during the process of ideological development. Applied to the process of learning to teach for social justice, this means that teacher candidates are engaged in an ideological struggle to sort out and make sense of the various discourses described above—master narratives about schooling, intermediate discourses prevalent in teacher education programs and K-12 school contexts, and teacher candidates' own entering and enduring personal beliefs and experiences. These interact with one another to produce the teachers' internally persuasive discourses, over time. In fact, Bakhtin suggested that discourses only become internally persuasive once the individual develops a critical and interrogative stance toward the discourses, testing the ideas presented and exploring the tensions within and among these discourses.

Exploring this idea in terms of the case study data I analyzed suggests that the two case study teachers did not enter the program with what Bakhtin would call internally persuasive discourses of social justice even though they did come with some strong, albeit untested and somewhat unexamined, personal beliefs related to teaching for social justice. However, as they encountered and interacted with the intermediate discourses of the teacher education program and their K-12 schools, and as they considered these ideas in light of their own entering and enduring discourses, they applied, adapted, and wrestled with these various and sometimes competing discourses. Following Bakhtin, the conceptual framework presented here suggests that it is in this process of investigation, struggle, and interrogation, that the teacher develops a set of internally persuasive discourses of social justice.

Based on my analysis of case study data over four years, I identified five general themes, or discourses, of social justice that were salient for the two case study teachers as they learned to teach. These five discourses, shown in Figure 4.1 as five words or phrases inside the three arrows, represent the major ideas related to social justice that the teachers brought with them and/or that encountered in their coursework, in their K-12 schools, and in the larger world as they learned to teach for social justice. These five discourses also reflect the ideas about social justice articulated in interviews with faculty members, cooperating teachers, supervisors, mentors, and administrators in the teacher education program and K-12 schools where the case study teachers worked. It is important to note that these general discourses are not meant to represent internally persuasive discourses. Rather, they are a collection of discourses that, through the process described above, had the potential to become internally persuasive for the individual teachers as they were interrogated, applied, adapted, and defined by the individual over time. These discourses were common themes and ideas related to social justice, encountered in a variety of settings, which each of the teachers had to grapple with and negotiate. These include:

> *The Discourse of Expectations*: This includes ideas about holding high expectations for students, pushing them to succeed, determining appropriate expectations, calibrating or modifying one's expectations, and holding high expectations of oneself and one's school.
>
> *The Discourse of Responsibility*: Closely related to a discourse of expectations, this includes ideas about the teachers' and students' responsibility for student success. It also includes ideas about the role of the larger school culture in providing leadership regarding students' academic achievement and behavior.

This discourse also includes larger ideas about accountability, advocacy, and activism.

The Discourse of Race and Equity: This discourse includes ideas about the racial divide and achievement gap, the role of racial and other structural inequities that affect children's life chances, and the impact of bias and discrimination on all students. This discourse also includes ideas about exposure to multiple perspectives as a way to combat bias and increase empathy. Finally, this discourse also includes related ideas about the role or position of a white teacher, as well as issues related to "urban teaching" used as a general term for teaching low-income students of color. This discourse seems relevant to teachers, regardless of their student demographic, but may be expressed in very different ways based on whom they teach.

The Discourse of Practice: This discourse relates to all kinds of practice from a traditional, transmission approach to teaching to an innovative or constructivist teaching approach. The discourse also includes ideas about promoting basic skills and teaching specific content, as well as ideas about promoting critical thinking and inquiry-based learning. Finally, the discourse also includes ideas about classroom management and behavioral strategies.

The Discourse of Relationships: A discourse of relationships includes ideas about how teachers interact with students, the kind of support or guidance teachers provide to students, and the kind of classroom culture or environment he/she creates. In addition, this discourse includes the teacher's knowledge of students outside the classroom.

As indicated above, these five discourses of social justice may be interpreted and instantiated in a range of ways. In fact, the case study teachers' different interpretations of the same general discourses involved very different ideas about teaching, learning, and social justice. However, these five discourses represent the general concerns, preoccupations, and questions that the teachers encountered and explored as they learned to teach. The process of learning to teach with a social justice perspective involved interrogating these ideas and developing their own internally persuasive version of each of these discourses. As I discuss below, they were not equally successful doing so.

In the case of the two teachers studied, whom I call Lola Werner and Elsie Reynolds, one had more success engaging in this process of ideological development than the other. As I demonstrate in the chapters that follow, the influence, power, and weight of the various intermediate discourses, the curriculum and experience of the teacher education program, the cultures of the schools where the teachers worked, and the teachers' own capacity to negotiate these discourses all influenced their overall success developing a strong ideological perspective as teachers for social justice.

As the next chapter shows, over time, Lola developed a set of complex and interwoven internally persuasive discourses related to social justice. Lola's particular interpretations of these discourses were informed by her own personal and enduring beliefs, what she learned in the teacher education program, and her experiences in the context of the schools where she worked. As Chapter 6 reveals, Elsie, on the other hand, was not so successful engaging in this struggle. Rather than engaging in the intense struggle to sort out several discourses, Elsie was largely overwhelmed by the powerful intermediate discourses she encountered at her K-12 school.

In the next two chapters, I argue that the tensions within and among the discourses of social justice were not only unavoidable, but also central to their development. The literature on learning to teach provides many different, but compatible, characterizations of the tensions involved in learning to teach. These include "knowledge conflicts" in which teachers interrogate their own assumptions (Olsen, 2008), systematic and critical inquiry generating "knowledge of practice" (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1999), identity transformation (Carter & Doyle, 1996), and learning in communities of practice (Westheimer, 2008). Although quite different in important ways, what all of these constructions have in common is a belief that an essential aspect of learning to teach is the recognition and investigation of tensions among competing ideas about teaching, learning, and schooling.

Specifically related to teaching for social justice, the idea of tensions and contradictions is particularly fruitful. Much of the recent work theorizing social justice in teacher education, stresses the embrace of tensions as inevitable to a deep understanding of social justice (see, for example, North, 2007; Cochran-Smith, 2008; McDonald and Zeichner, 2008). My analysis of the case study data suggests that a framework for understanding learning to teach for social justice must include the tensions, contradictions, and struggle that are not only unavoidable, but critical to the process of teachers' development as educators for social justice.

In the chapters that follow, I use the conceptual framework, built from the data about the two teachers, to examine and analyze their experiences of learning to teach. It is worth noting that the two teachers described in this dissertation were like many new teachers—eager to define their practice, passionate about making a difference, and

somewhat tentative about how to proceed. On paper, they were similar in many ways. Each would be considered highly qualified according to teacher education reformers across the political spectrum—they both attended highly selective undergraduate programs where they were academically successful, they were both well prepared and knowledgeable in their subject areas, and they both attended a well-respected graduate level teacher education program that provided them with a two semesters of experience (one part-time and one full-time) in classrooms under the supervision of experienced teachers and supervisors. In addition, they both entered teacher education enthusiastic about long-term careers in teaching. However, ultimately, the two teachers I followed for nearly four years, from entry into the program through the three years after graduation, were not equally successful. So why did their stories turn out so differently? Why is one still teaching in an urban classroom while the other has left teaching with no intention of returning?

As the framework suggests, for each teacher, learning to teach in a social justice oriented program involved negotiating multiple discourses in conflict and tension with one another. Yet, while they both struggled with the various discourses of teaching for social justice and their own sense of efficacy over time, the constraints and opportunities they encountered along the way played particularly important roles in their success or failure. In addition, their personal beliefs and their own capacities to manage the tensions they encountered also had an impact on their relative success embracing the ideological struggle and developing as teachers. In the chapters that follow, I use the framework to analyze the experiences of each of these teachers, describing how their background, their

teacher education, and their K-12 school contexts influenced their evolving understandings, interpretations, and practices.

Chapter 5 presents the case of Lola Werner, who graduated from a prestigious college with a B.S. in science and worked in consulting for three years before choosing to pursue a Master's degree in education. Lola participated in a program with a specific urban focus, and worked in a 5th grade classroom for the full year of her pre-service program. She then went on to teach middle school science at three different urban charter schools in the three years following completion of her master's degree. Analysis of Lola's case reveals that over time, she came to embrace the complexity, the tensions, and the contradictions of the work of teaching for social justice. At first, Lola accepted various ideas related to the general discourses of social justice without much questioning. However, over time, she began to examine, question, and challenge the ideas embedded in these discourses as part of the process of developing a unique and internally persuasive perspective on social justice teaching. She is still teaching today; she continues to struggle with the tensions among the discourses of social justice and continues to grow as a teacher.

Analysis of Elsie Reynolds' case, presented in Chapter 6, reveals a different process and a different outcome. Elsie graduated with honors and a degree in English literature from a highly selective college. She immediately entered a master's program in secondary English teaching. Elsie student taught at a suburban Catholic high school close to the town where she grew up, and after completing her master's, took a job at the same school. Like Lola, her experience of learning to teach also involved struggle. However, unlike Lola, Elsie did not come to embrace the tensions within and among the discourses

of social justice as productive to her teaching. In fact, her contract was not renewed and she left teaching after only one year, discouraged about her own capacity to teach in ways that matched her vision of teaching and social justice, intending never to return to teaching.

As the next two chapters illustrate, for Lola and Elsie, despite their many similarities on paper, their success or failure in learning to teach for social justice was influenced by their differing abilities and opportunities to sustain compelling and internally persuasive versions of each of the five discourses of social justice described above. In other words, being successful in learning to teach required wrestling with these discourses, seeing the challenges and nuances within the discourses and among them, and maintaining a focus on several of them as relevant to the work of teaching. Each teacher's ability to engage in this struggle was influenced not only by her own personal beliefs and capacities but, perhaps more importantly, by the discourses of the teacher education and K-12 schools and the constraints and opportunities these contexts presented to them as they learned to teach.

CHAPTER FIVE: LOLA WERNER, EMBRACING IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE

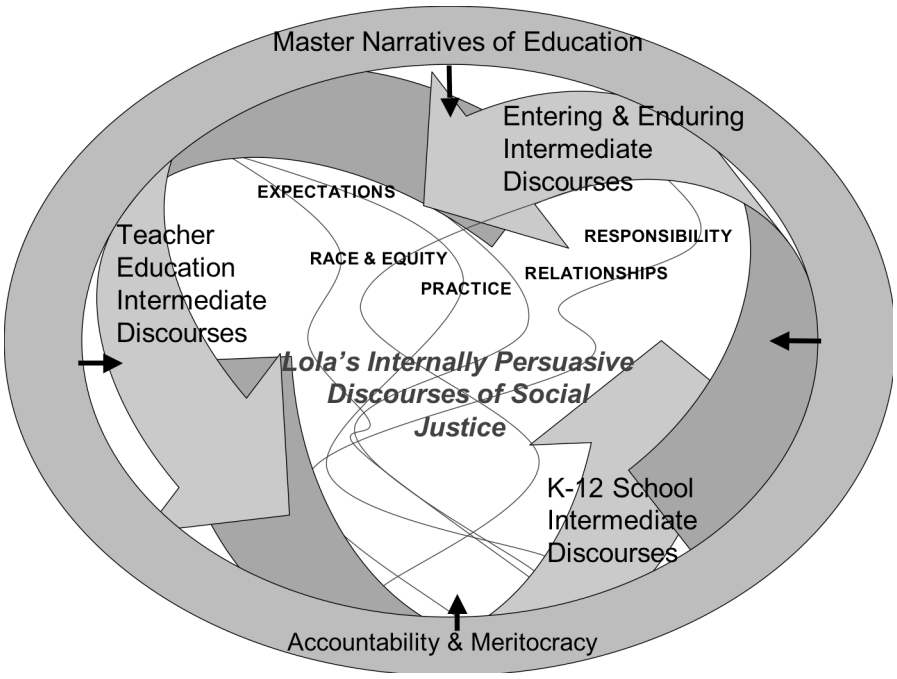
This chapter analyses the experience of Lola Werner, a young white woman who entered teacher education in 2005 with the goal of working in an urban school. Four years later, Lola continues to teach in an urban school. However, despite her success, Lola's experience has not been without challenges, frustrations, and some disappointment. Yet, Lola's process of learning to teach illustrates just the kind of tension-filled and ongoing struggle that the framework described in Chapter 4 represents.

As the teacher candidates in this study gained exposure to a range of different ideas about social justice, and as they had the opportunity to interact with others struggling to make sense of the competing demands of teaching in ways that promote justice, the somewhat unexamined ideas with which they entered teaching become more complex and nuanced. In Lola's case, the general discourses about social justice with which she began teacher education—about race, expectations, practice, responsibility, and relationships—became more complex. She struggled to make sense of these ideas, adapt them, and apply them to her new contexts, and it was this process of wrestling with the discourses of social justice that ultimately made the general discourses internally persuasive for Lola. As she interrogated the discourses of social justice, she began the process of ideological becoming as a teacher for social justice that she continues today.

Figure 5.1 represents Lola's process of learning to teach for social justice. In the figure, the discourses of social justice are shown as several interweaving lines, representing the different discourses of social justice that became internally persuasive for her. The lines intersect, overlap, and spread apart to signify the process by which

these ideas become internally persuasive over time. For Lola, her ideological development as a teacher for social justice did not to one persuasive and steadfast ideology or discourse of social justice. Rather, it was the intense interaction among these several discourses in conversation and tension with one another that made them internally persuasive and produced new and more sophisticated understandings of social justice.

Figure 5.1: Learning to Teach for Social Justice as an Ideological Struggle: Lola Werner



As Lola developed an authentic perspective as a teacher for social justice, at times she was discouraged and disappointed in her teaching, her students, and in the schools where she worked. Yet, she was successful in the ideological struggle to learn to teach in that she sustained both her commitment to teaching and her commitment to working through the tensions she encountered along the way. Lola's success, as I describe in this chapter, was in part due to her own strong convictions and personal strengths. However, her success was also largely a result of working in a school context that matched her

image of teaching for social justice, where she was supported and encouraged to ask advice, seek help, and develop her practice. In short, Lola was able to deepen her understanding of some of the ideas about social justice with which she entered teacher education, and she experienced an increasing sense of efficacy as she enacted these ideas. In addition, in the schools where she worked, she benefited from exposure to other teachers who also struggled with the tensions inherent in teaching for social justice. She witnessed their struggles and their sustained commitment and this, too, had an influence on her success.

In the next section, I provide an overview of Lola's experience learning to teach, beginning with her background experiences and beliefs and describing each year she participated in the study up until and including her present status more than mid-way through her a third year teaching. I then describe Lola's ideological development as a teacher by examining her evolving practices and her understandings of the five discourses of social justice.

Lola Werner: Seeking Success as a Teacher for Social Justice

Socialization into teaching begins long before teacher candidates take a single class in teacher education. Several scholars have referred to the enduring influence of early experiences of schooling on prospective and practicing teachers. Most commonly referred to as the "apprenticeship of observation" (Lortie, 1975), the time prospective teachers spend in school as students has an enduring impact on teacher candidates' beliefs, understandings, and practices as they develop. For Lola, the early years exerted an especially powerful influence on her beliefs and understandings of the teachers' role because she grew up with two parents who were educators. Her father had been a teacher,

a district administrator, and a principal, and her mother was an elementary school teacher. Lola recalled many conversations around the dinner table about teachers, students, and school issues, and her parents' influence on her ideas about teaching continued to play a role as she developed as a teacher herself. Thus, Lola's family contributed to her entering and enduring beliefs about teaching for social justice.

In addition, Lola was a strong student all the way through school. She was particularly good in math and science and described her AP Biology teacher as one of her best teachers. Lola referred to this teacher many times over the years I followed her. Her respect for the teacher derived almost entirely from her ability to produce "results" and inspire enthusiasm for subject, as opposed to affective characteristics such as a warm manner or concern for students—characteristics, by contrast, that Elsie, who is described in the next chapter, highlighted in her own description of favorite teachers. Lola's focus on "results" recurred again and again over the time I followed her and proved to be an enduring concern.

Lola described her public high school as having a strong sense of community, but a fairly homogeneous student body. Therefore, she chose to attend college in the southern U.S. because she wanted to move beyond her small town New England upbringing. She explicitly referred to the lack of racial diversity in her hometown and explained that she had always been drawn to African American culture, in particular. She thought she would benefit from attending college with a wider range of racial and cultural groups. However, as I describe in the "Discourse of Race" section of this chapter, Lola found the race issues at her college complicated and challenging and was surprised to discover that the racial divide was still such a powerful force in American society.

Lola majored in geology, and while she was in college, she also worked as a substitute teacher and camp counselor, and participated in various science-related internships. In addition, Lola described her participation in an alternative spring break project—she and her peers spent time working in a community in Appalachia—as a critical experience both in terms of her exposure to new experiences and the relationships she forged with her peers.

Lola graduated with a B.S. in 2002 and, as she prepared to leave college, she debated whether to go into teaching or work in environmental consulting. Although she had the opportunity to go directly into teaching, working for an "upward bound" program, she chose environmental consulting. She did not want to follow directly in her parents' footsteps but, rather, wanted to explore what kind of jobs her science degree made available to her. However, after three years in consulting, she found the work unfulfilling, and explained that she began to "pay attention to what I was paying attention to" (Interview 1)—for example, when she read the newspaper, she found herself reading about education rather than environmental issues and decided that her heart was not in the work she was doing.

Lola applied only to Master's programs that focused on urban teaching. She chose Hill University because of "Urban Scholars," a specialized program that focused on preparing teachers for urban schools. The program selects a small group of diverse students to participate in the one-year Master's program, in which teacher candidates take several courses together as a cohort, and work in two partnership schools. In the year that Lola attended the program, "Urban Scholars" was in a period of transition: the program

director had left, and the university had not yet hired a permanent replacement. This made for some inconsistencies in the supervision and guidance of Lola's cohort.

As an "Urban Scholar," Lola spent her entire teacher education year with the same group of 5th grade students at The Andrews School (Andrews). Mrs. Rodgers, Lola's cooperating teacher, was a young African American woman and a graduate herself of the "Urban Scholars" program at Hill University. She had student taught at Andrews and then continued on as a teacher at the school. Mrs. Rodgers was in her third year of teaching when Lola worked with her, and they were the same age.

Andrews had a long history of hosting student teachers from Hill and several teachers at the school were graduates of the teacher education program. Andrews' student population was primarily students of color (35% African American, 35% Latino, 17% White, and 12% Asian) and 67% low-income. There were approximately 500 students in the grades K-5, and the school was planning on expanding through the 8th grade over the next several years.

Mrs. Rodgers and her neighboring teacher, Ms. Patty, divided the curriculum in the 5th grade: Mrs. Rodgers taught math for both 5th grade classes and Ms. Patty taught English Language Arts (ELA). They each taught their homeroom students the science and social studies curricula, although these subjects took up little of the daily schedule. In fact, many days the schedule included two sessions of math and two sessions of ELA, specials such as library or gym, and no science of social studies curricula. Lola worked primarily with Mrs. Rodgers, though in her second semester she did participate in and lead some ELA lessons in Ms. Patty's room. Therefore, although Lola was preparing to be a generalist, her main focus in her student teaching year was on math instruction. This

had a strong influence on Lola's evolving discourse of practice, and her ideas about what and how she wanted to teach.

Lola was ultimately disappointed by her experience at Andrews. Although the school's motto of "no excuses" implied high expectations and academic rigor, in fact she reported that she witnessed many inconsistencies between talk and action. As a result, when she sought her first teaching job, she was very clear about her desire to work in a school with a more authentic discourse of high expectations and academic rigor—discourses of social justice that had inspired her initial desire to teach.

In the spring of her pre-service year, Lola interviewed at a number of urban charter schools and chose Little Village, a K-8 urban public charter school founded in the mid-1990s that served primarily low-income students of color. The school had a strong reputation for academic success, a long waitlist of students (selected by lottery to the school), and had recently expanded into a new multi-million dollar building. The principal was an African American man with a long career in education, a charismatic personality, and a strong presence. Lola described him as a serious professional who set a tone of hard work and dedication among the staff.

The population of Little Village students was racially diverse. Data from the Department of Education for the year Lola taught at the school were as follows: of the 384 students in pre-Kindergarten through 8th grade, 56% were African American, 24% White, 14% Latino, 4% Asian, and 1% other. Seventy-two percent of the students were designated as low-income. However, student demographics for grades 7 and 8 were different because each year several students left Little Village the summer after 6th grade to attend public, application-only secondary schools in the city. To keep the class sizes

consistent, Little Village replaced the mostly White and Asian students who left with primarily African American and Latino students. In fact, Lola's 7th and 8th grade classes included only three White and two Asian students—the rest of her students were African American and Latino. In addition, several of Lola's students were new to the school and not accustomed to the academic and behavioral expectations, nor were they as strong academically as the students they had replaced.

As the 7th and 8th grade science teacher at Little Village, Lola's classroom had the student demographic that she had entered teaching hoping to work with, and the school had a mission that reflected the kinds of goals she had for her students. The school's mission statement read, in part:

> 'Succeed anywhere' is the school's educational philosophy—that every student at the school will have the necessary knowledge and skills to attend a high quality high school, whether that school be private or public, focused on college preparation, the technical trades, or the creative arts.

Little Village's focus on preparing students to "succeed anywhere" was a central aspect of the school's intermediate discourse of social justice, and suggested that, through participation in the school program, students should be able to achieve what they desired. As I describe in more detail when I discuss the discourses of expectations and responsibility, Lola was both drawn to the school's prevailing discourses of social justice and, in turn, these discourses had a powerful influence on her interpretations and practices of social justice as a new teacher.

Despite Lola's enthusiasm for the philosophy and culture of Little Village and her ultimate sense that she had made progress as a teacher while at the school, after one year

at Little Village, she decided she wanted to move back to the city where she had worked after college. She missed her community there and believed she could find a job at a school similar to Little Village. She again interviewed at several charter schools and was hired into a 7th and 8th grade science position at the Garden School (Garden). Like Little Village, Garden was a well-known and well-respected public charter school, founded in the late 1990s, and driven by a strong mission to promote the academic success of low-income African American students. The school was unique in that, in addition to its focus on academics, the school boarded all 300 students, 7th-12th grade.

Lola's experience at the school was quite different from Little Village. In particular, although the school rhetoric promoted high expectations and academic rigor, she did not think this played out in practice, just as she had concluded about Andrews. In fact, in an email to me in December of that year, she described the school discourse as a kind of "smoke and mirrors" in that the faculty and administration did not seem to practice what they preached. Yet, at Garden—her third school in three years—Lola deepened her understanding of teaching for social justice as she attempted to apply the discourses of social justice that she had brought to teaching, or had developed in her student teaching and Little Village contexts, to yet another new and different teaching environment.

In fact, despite her frustrations, Lola expressed increased confidence in her abilities as a teacher in her second year and she experienced many successes in terms of her students' learning and their performance. However, she never felt satisfied with Garden, and at the end of the year, she moved yet again to another urban public charter school in the same city. The demographics of this next school mirrored those of Little

Village. Again, she took a position as a middle school science teacher, and, like her other schools, this third charter school was committed to the goals of academic rigor and high expectations. However, the school's mission also emphasized community and social responsibility. In fact, the curriculum was organized around "expeditions" that required teachers to develop projects that cut across discipline and challenge students to make connections between their learning in school and the larger community.

In my most recent interview with Lola, she seemed to be continuing to struggle with what it means to teach for social justice, and continuing to question how to interpret and enact her social justice goals. However, she told me she intends to stay in teaching and stay in her current school, where she believes she continues to experience more and more success reaching for these goals.

The Five Discourses of Social Justice: The Ideological Development of a Teacher for Social Justice

In this section, I examine the evolution of Lola's internally persuasive versions of each of the five discourses of social justice over time. In addition, I investigate the influence of the various types of discourses—the master narrative of accountability and the intermediate discourses of her own enduring beliefs, her teacher education, and her various K-12 schools—on her ideological development as a teacher for social justice. My analysis proceeds thematically in that I present each of the discourses in its own section, but within each section, the analysis proceeds chronologically. Each of the sections demonstrates how Lola moved from acceptance of somewhat unexamined, albeit compelling, beliefs to a more sophisticated and complex understanding of what it means to teach for social justice. I begin with a discussion of Lola's evolving discourse of race

because her beliefs about race were the central focus of her initial interest in teaching, and became far more complicated over time. In addition, although I divide these discourses and treat each separately, they in fact overlap and inform one another. Lola's discourse of race influenced how she interpreted all the discourses of social justice. Because I begin with the discourse of race it is the longest section and includes information relevant both to that particular discourse as well as to Lola's general experience of learning to teach.

Discourse of Race and Equity: From Colorblind to Questioning

As I suggest above, Lola's initial interest in teaching was motivated by a desire to teach urban students of color. She imagined that, through teaching, she could contribute to efforts to bridge what she saw as a powerful and unfortunate racial divide. However, Lola's early experiences led her to hold some fairly unexamined ideas about race and equity that were essentially "colorblind" when she entered teacher education. Yet, as she gained experience and exposure to a range of students, teachers, and schools, she came to see issues of race as both more complicated and more difficult than she initially admitted. It is important to note that Lola did not resolve all of her questions related to race nor, in the process of ideological development, is that the goal in learning to teach for social justice. Rather, Lola's "success" in developing an internally persuasive discourse of race and equity was that she deepened her questioning and her exploration of issues of race and equity as they related to her understanding and her practice of teaching for social justice.

As noted, Lola's own schooling experience was fairly homogeneous—there were only two black students in her small New England high school. As a result, she chose to

attend a university where she thought she would have more exposure to a wider range of peers, including more interaction with students of color. However, her experiences in college exposed her, really for the first time, to the power of the racial divide in the United States. In her first interview, she relayed an experience that left her dismayed about the divide she felt between herself and her African American peers.

She reported that, one evening in college, returning to her dorm after class, she came across a group of African American students "step dancing" outside. As a crowd gathered, she approached an African American friend from class and asked her what was going on. The friend's answer had a lasting effect on Lola's perspective about race, as she was made painfully aware of how her friend saw her as separate and different from her. She explained:

> I couldn't tell what was going on so I went over and one of the African American girls from my class, Erica, she was standing there and I [asked][2], "Erica, what's going on?" And she [said], "Oh well you know how you have sororities?" And I was kind of like, I really didn't even understand what she was talking about, because I'm like, "I'm not in a sorority", and I almost stopped her. And then I realized she meant white people have sororities. And that whole us versus them thing, like the fact that we were friends from this class and then all of a sudden she was putting me in a category separate from her as a way to explain, because it

[2] In this and the next chapter, minor modifications have been made to the participants' interview comments. These changes include the removal of "like" and "you know", and omission of repeated words such as "I mean, I think, I think." These omissions are intended only to facilitate the flow of the comments and thus are not represented by ellipses. Ellipses are used when more substantive material was omitted.

was a fraternity initiation step thing going on. So…I was like, "Wait, so you're thinking of me as different, in another class from you?" (Interview 1)

This incident, and others like it, surprised Lola because when she was growing up in a racially homogeneous town, she had believed that the racial divide was a historical issues rather than a pressing contemporary issue. Yet, at college, she encountered the racial divide firsthand.

This racial divide was a compelling reason for Lola's interest in teaching. She believed that working with students of color to give them the academic skills to compete with their White peers would serve to narrow the divide she witnessed in college, and more generally in society. Therefore, Lola chose Hill specifically for the "Urban Scholars" program and entered her pre-service program eager to prepare herself to work with urban students of color.

Lola's selection of an urban-focused program suggests that teacher candidates may deliberately seek programs that will confirm their entering discourses. In fact, Olsen (2008) described teacher candidates' experiences in teacher education as falling into three possible categories: confirmatory, disconfirmatory, and appropriating experiences. He explained that teacher candidates' experiences are confirming when their incoming ideas align with the goals and practices of the program, while a disconfirming experience occurs when teacher candidates reject the goals and practices because they contradict teacher candidates' entering beliefs. Finally, teacher education is an appropriating experience when teacher candidates interpret the messages of teacher education in ways that modify ideas to match their own pre-existing beliefs.

In both of the cases described in this dissertation, the teacher candidates' experiences were some combination of all three of Olsen's categories. For each of the case study teachers, the social justice discourses of the teacher education program confirmed some of their beliefs, extended other ideas, and contradicted or—perhaps more accurately—simply did not seem relevant to some understandings of teaching.

In light of her interest in issues of race and diversity, it is not surprising that Lola embraced much of her teacher education program's discourse of race and equity. She cited her Social Contexts of Education course, which focused on historical, philosophical, and social issues in education, as particularly valuable for her as she prepared to work in an urban school. She believed the course expanded her knowledge about the range of issues urban students face and provided her with more information and greater understanding of some of these issues, such as the achievement gap.

However, the program's discourse of race was not entirely "confirmatory" for Lola. In fact, she resisted aspects of the discourse of race when they seemed uncomfortable or irrelevant to her goals. For example, at the same time that Lola was driven by the desire to bridge the racial divide that she witnessed in college, she was also skeptical of too much emphasis on race in her teacher education coursework. She described how, in discussions with fellow teacher candidates, she was forced to examine whether her race would interfere with her ability to teach students of color. These discussions led her to question whether her work in an "inner city environment" would send her home crying every night because her students, the parents, and her colleagues would "hate her because she was white" (Interview 1). Yet, she concluded that race did

not need to matter. She argued that, instead, it was the quality of her instruction that made a difference. She explained:

> I am so thankful that we had in class experience this summer because we had all these theoretical discussions going on, but in the end the teaching is the most important thing and when I was in that classroom this summer, the kids loved me and they were very sad to see me go, and they didn't seem to care that I was white, I wasn't getting attitude… Because it was kind of, okay, yah, all those are issues and they're real and they need to be discussed but, you are also teaching the kids and if you're doing a solid job, you're doing a solid job regardless of who you are. (Interview 1)

Lola's comments here suggest that she resisted the idea that race ought to be relevant to her teaching. Rather, she expressed a desire for people not to pay so much attention to race. She explained:

> I hate the divide that currently exists between races in this country. It drives me crazy, probably my biggest thing that I wish I could change for all kinds of reasons but, so when you tea--, if you teach a kindergartener that or any kid that, how is that possibly not going to make them more bitter toward others, toward the white race in particular?...I want ultimately, I personally want people as the generations go on to just get along better, to accept each other for who they are, to not care about colors so much, so placing such blame so singly on the color of your skin when I feel like at this point it's really a lot more complicated than that. (Interview 1)

Lola did not finish her sentence but her concern and her frustration were palpable. While she recognized the powerful role that race played in the experiences of the students she hoped to teach, she wanted to move beyond race. In the excerpt above, Lola retained a desire for a "colorblind" society, in that she felt that people should learn to look beyond race and "just get along better." In this way, at the same time that Lola appreciated her program's focus on race and equity, she was also uncomfortable with aspects of the discourse that challenged her enduring belief that society would be better if race were no longer relevant. This tension was reinforced in Lola's student teaching at Andrews.

At Andrews, where Lola spent her entire student teaching year, her commitment to bridging the racial divide continued to motivate her work, but she also faced first-hand the challenges of being a white teacher. However, at this stage, she still largely rejected it as a source for deeper reflection, seeking evidence that her race did not need to be relevant to her work as a teacher.

However, despite Lola's resistance, at Andrews, race was an issue for her, both in terms of interactions among staff and in terms of her relationships with students. For example, Lola described an incident that divided the staff along racial lines. Yet, her description of the incident reflected her resistance, at this stage, of the complexity of examining race in the context of teaching. She explained that a small contingent of teachers, including the principal, wanted to take the students on an ice skating trip. Yet, many teachers, including some teachers of color, resisted. Lola explained that Ms. Patty, an African American teacher, commented, "Chocolate kids shouldn't have to go ice skating, you're going to set them up for failure" (Interview 4). Lola referred to this comment as evidence of both Ms. Patty's potentially anti-white attitude and larger

evidence of racial tension at the school. Yet, in Lola's description of the incident, she suggested that the teachers' resistance to the trip on the grounds that students of color would be set up for failure was silly. She concluded her discussion of this situation by explaining that she attended the trip and the kids enjoyed themselves. In general, Lola's assessment of this contentious event in the school was that it was "obscene" because it drove some teachers to stop talking to each other. However, she did not describe this situation as one that raised new questions for her in terms of how she thought about her students' race and her role as a white teacher.

In addition, in her description of Mrs. Rodgers, Lola recognized that, as a White woman, she could not employ the same strategies Mrs. Rodgers used to manage the classroom. She explained that Mrs. Rodgers knew "the lingo" and had more cultural connections with the students than Lola would ever have. This allowed Mrs. Rodgers to draw on her cultural capital with the students in a way that Lola knew she could not. Thus, while Lola resisted the relevance of her race, she also seemed to recognize that it did influence her teaching, despite earlier comments about "doing a solid job" being all that mattered.

Lola responded to this by seeking additional models to help her define effective strategies as a White teacher. She referred to another young White teacher, Ms. Fox, whose approach focused on tracking student behaviors and providing rewards. Lola saw this as a more viable strategy for her, and drew from these ideas when she developed a behavior system for Mrs. Rodgers' class. Yet, her race continued to be an issue even after employing these systems.

Of particular significance for Lola was an incident that occurred in the winter of her student teaching, after she had implemented a disciplinary strategy that modeled itself on the points system she had observed in Ms. Fox's classroom. She kept track of everything the students did and they earned points that could be redeemed for rewards such as recess, computer time, or P.E. class. One day, early in implementation of the system, Lola kept a few African American boys back from P.E. because they had not earned enough points. Another student in the class privately told Lola that the boys had called Lola a racist when she left the room. Mrs. Rodgers heard this and advised Lola to deal with it immediately. Lola called the boys together and told them she had heard about the comment. She explained that she had followed the system, which she argued was neutral and unbiased. She added that, in fact, rather than being a racist, she often stood up for these boys when Mrs. Rodgers did not. When Lola ran out of things to say, Mrs. Rodgers stepped in. As Lola described it, Mrs. Rodgers told the boys that she was ashamed of their behavior. Lola explained:

> So I [said] I have found out that somebody here called me a racist, and I [said], "I am about the farthest from racist I can think of…You know what? I am on your side more than even Mrs. Rodgers sometimes. And I probably advocate for you when I shouldn't. And I just can't believe that, since when--who's the teacher here?" And…I went through the point system. "This is fair. You have chosen to act like this. It's why you're here--" Then Mrs. Rodgers chimed in, [and she said], "I am embarrassed."…She was back in the doorway. She left, and then she was standing back. And after I was out of things to say, she [said], "I am ashamed", or something like that, "to even have to claim you as a part of my race." And she

> [said], “You aren't black, you're not white, you're not anything.” And it was intense. And then she was just like, “This is one of the biggest problems when the first thing that goes wrong for a black person, they blame it on the color of the person's skin.” And she [said], “Ms. Werner does advocate for you all, she's on your side more than I am, that's for sure.” (Interview 4)

A few aspects of this incident are particularly noteworthy in light of Lola’s developing discourse of race. First, Lola believed that the system she put in place was neutral and value-free. Her response to the students’ criticism was to explain how the system worked and why it was fair. She did not consider that the system itself might benefit some students and punish others in some part due to racial or cultural differences. As such, Lola resisted her students’ challenge to her discourse of colorblindness. In addition, Lola’s desire to relay this incident to me suggests that Mrs. Rodgers’ comments reinforced for Lola her belief that a focus on race could be detrimental. It was important to Lola that Mrs. Rodgers’, in her comments, endorsed Lola’s own desire to move beyond race, to focus on responsibility and accountability. However, it is worth pointing out that Lola’s and Mrs. Rodgers’ responses to this situation were fundamentally different and, in fact, had a lot to do with their racial identities. Whereas Lola sought to demonstrate the neutrality of the system and ignore race, Mrs. Rodgers drew on her racial identity and made use of it in her critique of the students’ behavior. In fact, Mrs. Rodgers’ response, rather than ignoring race, highlighted the difference between being a White teacher and an African American one.

This is reminiscent of Cynthia Ballenger’s (1992) study in which she examined the relationship between herself and her Haitian students as it compared to what she

observed of what occurred between Haitian students and their Haitian teachers. After questioning her own approach to discipline and observing her fellow teachers, she concluded that the Haitian teachers were able to employ certain cultural norms and ways of communicating with the children because of their shared culture and tradition. In Lola's assessment of this situation, she did not seem to recognize how powerful Mrs. Rodgers' shared identity with the students was in her reprimand—Lola could not have called the students out for calling her a racist nor could she have told them she was "ashamed of them" for this. It was because of Mrs. Rodgers' race that she could use the tactics she did, at the same time that she reprimanded the students for observing race. Yet, Lola's description of the incident demonstrates how she continued to seek confirmation that she did not need to examine the role of her race in her work with students of color.

Yet, despite this struggle with her identity as a white teacher, at the heart of Lola's discourse of race and equity was her belief that through building academic skills, her work could bridge the racial divide. She sustained an enduring belief, as I describe in the sections about her discourse of expectations and of practice, that building academic skills was the ticket to success for her students of color. In turn, this would be her way to make a difference in the world. Lola explained that although bridging the racial divide was at the center of her reasons for teaching, she did not think about it every time she prepared a lesson. She explained:

> Social justice was the reason I [went] into teaching…Like wanting to minimize the gap between minority adults and White adults in terms of jobs they hold and the amount of money they have, and having the races be able to work together and

> having them all have educations that allow them to do that…So that's why I'm here, but I don't explicitly think about it when I'm doing this math thing like, "Ah yes, this will get M- into a nice house with a fence." (Interview 5)

As this excerpt suggests, Lola's ideas about social justice ultimately revolved around her strong belief that her students of color could achieve academic and life success if they had access to good teachers, good schools, and some of the academic opportunities their middle-class White peers could take for granted. This enduring belief also suggests her embrace of the master narratives of accountability and meritocracy—that through the power of teachers, schools and individual student effort, students' lives could be transformed, and they could overcome the many obstacles that low-income students of color faced.

Thus, in her student teaching at Andrews, rather than opening herself up to the possibility that race played an unavoidable role in her relationship with her students, and needed to be addressed as an aspect of her work, she seemed to seek evidence to confirm her belief that race was not relevant to her work with students she hoped to teach. Although she was aware of some of the complexity of being a White teacher, she did not demonstrate a desire to question more deeply the role of her racial identity in her relationships with students and families. Rather, Lola's entering and enduring discourse of race and equity, linked both to a discourse of colorblindness that pervades many national discussions of race, as well as to the master narrative of meritocracy, remained more powerful. She contended that her race did not need to be relevant to her teaching, and hoped that people would learn "not to care about colors." Yet, as Lola gained experience in a range of settings, she was forced to examine more deeply her position as

a white teacher and the role that race played in her students' academic success and their life chances.

Lola was drawn to the Little Village Charter School for its commitment to promoting the academic success of low-income students of color through teachers' and students' hard work and perseverance. In keeping with Lola's own intersecting discourses of race, expectations, and practice, the intermediate discourse Lola encountered at Little Village embraced the power of the school to transform students' lives. Specifically, the school discourse of race and equity focused on individual effort and represented an instantiation of the master narratives of accountability and meritocracy suggested above.

In turn, the school discourse of race and equity suggested that, in some instances, students were expected to reject the beliefs they brought with them to school. For example, the Dean of the Middle School, Mr. Shaw, who was Lola's direct supervisor, explained in his interview that part of his job was to counteract the influence of the communities from which his students came. In order to counteract what he saw as negative influences, he explained that, "Most of our kids sort of we breed here." He expected students, when they crossed over the threshold, to embrace the school culture even if it contradicted the students' home values. He explained:

> When [students] walk through those doors sometimes I'm saying, I need you to change your value system. I understand that some of it comes from the community at large in which they live. Some of it's coming from their actual families. I'm saying, you know, I'm not saying that's wrong, I'm just saying, this is how it is here. If you want to be through this door what you're saying when you

> walk over that threshold is that you're willing to commit to these values. (Mr. Shaw Interview)

Mr. Shaw's perspective is complicated—he attempted to create a school culture that promoted hard work and respect, which are laudable goals. Yet, he also suggested that students should cross the threshold and leave their cultures behind. This reflects, in some ways, the colorblind perspective on race that Lola embraced; his comments suggest that not only could a student's cultural identity be irrelevant, it could in fact be a barrier to success.

This focus on hard work and individual effort dominated the school discourse. At the end of Lola's year at Little Village, I observed a "town meeting" in which the entire middle school met in the rotunda for announcements and presentations. The content of the meeting focused primarily on end of year assessments. There were also "commendations" in which teachers praised individual students for their behavior or academic performance. The meeting ended with the following paraphrased speech from the principal:

> I am so glad to hear so much about how you all shine above and beyond the others; hopefully for the MCAS you will shine above the others too. This, all of this, everything you're hearing from your teachers, is for you. I got a job, a house, a car, I get vacations. I love my life. I want you to love your life too. The other day I was driving in my car and I ran into V- (8th grade boy) and he was all excited. Do you know why? Because he got a job. One thing I know about V- is that he will always have a job. He's going to make himself successful, and he'll do it the right way—he'll probably be a used car salesman somewhere selling cars

> that don't work right but he'll do it (laughter). The teachers are doing all this because they want that for you. They want you to succeed. So, end the year strong" (Observation Field Notes 6/07).

This speech captured the school's version of the master narratives of accountability and meritocracy, and linked to a discourse of race and equity that ignored culture and identity in favor of individual effort. At the heart of the principal's lecture were the twin ideas that if students worked hard to achieve success on the MCAS, then they would be able to have a life of relative privilege—a good job, a nice car, and vacations. The school discourse—linked to particular ideas about race, equity, and responsibility—promoted individual successes, so students could ultimately earn good money and live a comfortable life, despite limitations presented by their backgrounds. Implied in this discourse was the message that success was all about personal accomplishment, made possible by following the rules, and not tied to larger social and cultural phenomena.

Some educational scholars have challenged this perspective and argued that an emphasis on the power of hard work to transform students' lives, instantiated in aspects of the NCLB legislation, ignores the complexity of the circumstances of low-income students of color. Berliner (2005), for example, has argued, "Although the power of schools and educators to influence individual students is never to be underestimated, the out-of-school factors associated with poverty play both a powerful and a limiting role in what can actually be achieved" (p.1). Instead, Berliner painted a picture of children's lives complicated by a wide array of influences, from lack of adequate health care and housing, to limited opportunities for economic advancement. He argued that any reform effort that ignores the persistent effects of poverty on children's life chances, or

simplifies these circumstances, promotes a society in which many children will never be able to "succeed anywhere."

In many ways, however, Lola was drawn to Little Village because of the powerful intermediate discourses of race and expectations. Specifically, she valued the school's commitment to promoting the academic success of low-income students of color through hard work and perseverance both because these ideas were compatible with her own entering beliefs, and because she had been disappointed by the lack of passionate effort she observed at Andrews. As she gained experience at Little Village, she largely embraced the school's discourse of race but also became increasingly aware of how difficult it was to promote academic success for her students, as I describe later in this chapter.

It is notable that in Lola's year at Little Village, there was little discussion in our interviews about her position as a white teacher. Although she had some difficult encounters with parents over students' grades, in general she felt that once they sat down and talked, and with support from Mr. Shaw and others on staff, she was able to develop good and collaborative relationships with parents. However, this issue recurred the following year and proved to be a source of considerable tension for her as she struggled with the discourse of race and equity.

When Lola moved to The Garden School, her struggle with the discourse of race and equity became more emotionally charged and uncertain for her. In contrast to Mr. Shaw's perspective about the students' home communities, Lola's principal at Garden explained to me in an interview that part of the school mission was to teach the students to be both proud and critical of where they came from. In the school literature, the

school's proximity and connection to the students' community played a key role in the school mission. In other words, although it was a boarding school, the school's goal was not to remove students from the community but rather, to educate them well within it. Garden's discourse of race focused not on succeeding "anywhere", as Little Village's did, but rather on making success possible in the students' home community. This represented a subtle but significant shift in the discourse of race to which Lola was exposed. For Lola, the context of the community in which the school was located, coupled with the almost entirely African-American student population, raised new issues for her as she struggled to apply her evolving discourse of race to yet another new context.

Garden was located in a city with a history of deep racial cleavages. Lola believed this had a profound impact on race issues in the school. She explained:

> I think that there is a lot of hurt and years of wrongs…Really a lot of bad stuff that's gone on in [the city] and there's a lot of racial tension and inequality…then on the other hand, I think that people play the role of the neglected and don't even try when maybe they could. But there's a whole lot of stuff in [the city] and it definitely comes across through the parents and the way that the students react to me and the way that they act in the classroom and all that…is much different than [previous city]. (Interview 10)

In this excerpt, Lola struggled to both recognize the larger context from which the school's racial tensions emerged while also holding onto her belief that the focus on race could be detrimental—a sentiment she expressed in her very first interview, nearly two years prior to this one. Yet, whereas Lola's discussion of race as she entered teacher education focused more on a goal of "colorblindness", in her second year teaching, and in

this new context, she no longer saw this as viable. Rather, in the context of a school that had an explicit goal of educating African American students within their own community, she came to recognize some of the complexity and tensions associated with racial issues in teaching and the challenges presented by her role as a white teacher of African American students.

Lola's struggle with race was particularly charged because it challenged some of the ideas of social justice that brought her to teaching. For Lola, choosing to teach had been in part a way to bridge the racial divide that she found so difficult to abide. However, at Garden, she came to question whether, as a white teacher, she even had a place in this work. She explained:

> It's really disheartening. Ever since I was really little I've always had kind of a love for African-American culture, and this year it's made me kind of feel like, or reminded me or made me realize, "No, you're not a part of that culture, Lola, and you can love it all you want but you're not one of them." The dreaded "them" that I hate. You know, "us" and "them." And maybe you're not even wanted there. And that's…a feeling that I've gotten a lot at Garden. And it's really disheartening- And there's a big part of me…[that wonders] maybe African-American kids do need to be taught by people who are the same culture as them. (Interview 10)

As this excerpt suggests, Lola did not know how to make sense of the racial tensions she encountered at Garden. In my first interview with Lola, several years earlier, she had explained that she believed that race is a pressing issue to consider but, when it comes down to the practice of teaching, "if you're doing a solid job, you're doing a solid job." Through the course of student teaching she sought evidence that this was true. At Little

Village, the school discourse reinforced this perspective. However, at Garden, she simply could not write off the significance of race and was forced to question her efficacy as a white teacher. She came to realize that her position as a White teacher was relevant and, at times, could interfere with her ability to reach her students.

The excerpt above is also troubling because Lola came to question whether she might leave urban teaching altogether because of this frustration. While she felt she had become a much better teacher, she was uncertain that she would want to work with a population of students who might never come to see her as one of their beloved teachers. She explained:

> I think back to my teachers that I had, particularly in high school because those are the ones I really remember…I really loved and respected my teachers, but it makes me a little bit sad to feel like I won't be loved as much as a teacher because of the color of my skin. And so it makes me [feel] like I deserve to be really loved as a teacher because I work so hard and I think I'm going to be good, and even now I think I'm pretty good and so it makes me thoughtful about what school I'm at…but I just feel like in an environment where it's not so obviously polarized it might be easier for me to teach there for many reasons. One, being the fact that I don't look like the kids here. (Interview 11)

Thus, Lola's growing sense that, as a white teacher, she might not have a place at Garden, challenged her belief that race should not have to matter. Ultimately one of the reasons she left Garden had to do with her frustrations about being a White teacher in an African-American school. Lola did not go to an all-White suburban school but, rather, chose to work in another urban charter school with a demographic more similar to the students she

had worked with at Andrews and Little Village. In her third year of teaching, she reported that race issues were not nearly as divisive as they had been for her at Garden and she experienced this as a kind of relief.

One might look at these excerpts from Lola's second year as a teacher, when she was working at Garden, and conclude that she had come to believe that she would never be effective with students of color, particularly African American students. However, in Lola's many comments about race during her year at Garden what became most clear was that she had begun to embrace uncertainty about the role and status of White teachers that she had previously resisted. This represented a source of emotional strife for Lola as she sought to negotiate a shift from her earlier, more naïve ideas about race to something more nuanced and complicated. Lola did not resolve this issue or come to a final position about what it meant to be a White teacher of students of color but, in the context of a teaching environment that challenged her entering discourse of race, she struggled, talked with her peers and colleagues, and sought ways to make sense of her race and its influence on her teaching. Thus, Lola's discussion of race and her understanding of the complexity of bridging the racial divide became more honest and reflective. As such, Lola engaged in just the kind of interrogation of a discourse that true ideological struggle and development demands.

Discourse of Expectations: From Unexamined Belief to An Essential Quandary

As suggested by the evolution of her discourse of race, Lola came to teacher education with a clear, although unexamined, belief in setting and holding high expectations for all students, regardless of their background. This theme wove throughout Lola's experience of learning to teach. In her early thinking about teaching, however,

high expectations was really just an idea—albeit a powerful one—in her conception of the role of the teacher for social justice. Yet over time, although she never lost sight of her belief in high expectations, she genuinely wrestled with what it meant to hold high expectations, questioned this idea, and struggled to adapt it to the various contexts in which she taught. In fact, over time, she came to see the idea of holding high expectations as an essential quandary of teaching for social justice.

In Lola's first interview, she referred to high expectations among her list of important aspects of teaching for social justice, but she did not define what that meant nor did she suggest that this was a complex or challenging goal for the teacher. When asked about what it meant to be an effective teacher, she referred to creating a good learning environment, having energy, and "being clear in what your expectations are, having high expectations regardless of who's in your class" (Interview 1). This comment, sandwiched between several other goals, seemed to suggest that she took this idea for granted as an important, but uncomplicated, goal of teaching.

When Lola entered the pre-service teacher education program, she brought strong, albeit unexamined, ideas about high expectations with her, and they buoyed her thinking and her practice. Whereas she reported that high expectations was an idea encouraged in her teacher education coursework, she did not believe it was reinforced in her school site. In fact, Andrews' school culture came to represent for her the antithesis of the discourse of high expectations that she came to teaching believing was the core of teaching for social justice. Her negative interpretation of the discourse of expectations at Andrews had a profound influence on Lola's developing discourse of expectations, in part as a reaction against what she saw there.

Although Lola saw Mrs. Rodgers as a role model to the students because she was a young African American woman with a strong presence, firm manner, and real concern for the students, Lola did not believe that Mrs. Rodgers held high enough expectations for all students, nor did she feel that Mrs. Rodgers took enough responsibility for their achievement. Of particular import for Lola was a comment Mrs. Rodgers made about M-, a 5th grade student who had already been held back at least once and who struggled academically. In discussing M-, Mrs. Rodgers, said that some students might not be cut out for academic work and instead ought to "learn a trade." Lola was taken aback by this comment and, over the course of the year, often referred to it and similar comments Mrs. Rodgers made about M-. In contrast, Lola believed it was the teacher's job to make an extra effort with students like M-. She explained:

> She [said], "Well, at least he's trying. That's all we can hope for." And I was…like, "Really? Because this is pitiful." I want to take him aside and work with him because he should be able to do better than this. And…I don't like that attitude. And I think that…if you're teaching for social justice, I don't think you should be saying things like that, unless you really tried really hard, and he still doesn't get it. But in a group setting when he has learning disabilities that prevent him from focusing, so you're going to say that's okay, that he's getting all these things wrong when it's really not that hard. It's confusing for kids, but doable, I think. (Interview 3)

Mrs. Rodgers' attitude toward M- challenged Lola's very notion of teaching for social justice as holding high expectations for all students, regardless of their backgrounds. She was dismayed by what she saw as a lack of effort on Mrs. Rodgers' part to reach out to

M- and other students. Whereas she did think that Mrs. Rodgers' shared her belief that teaching for social justice was about promoting the achievement of students who needed the extra "push", she did not see Mrs. Rodgers exhibit the kind of drive and determination that she wanted to have.

By contrast, Lola described Ms. Fox, the young White teacher at Andrews from whom Lola learned about the discipline system, as a role model for her because she exhibited the kind of "dogged" commitment to high expectations that Lola aspired to herself. Ms. Fox, a young white teacher who had been an "Urban Scholar" and Teach for America teacher, represented the kind of socially just teaching Lola wanted to do herself. She described how Ms. Fox really "carried kids" and "didn't give them any breaks." She explained:

> She gives everyone a fair shake. She's really hard on kids. She picked this one boy, T-, to be in her class, who teachers can't stand, because she thinks he's brilliant and that he will either be a doctor or a gang leader. So she wanted him in her class. So she picked the harder road because she thought that she could help this kid. (Interview 2)

In Lola's estimation, Ms. Fox was the essence of the socially just teacher because she pushed kids toward academic success, and pushed herself to provide them whatever they needed to succeed.

In addition to individual teachers' responsibility to hold high expectations for students, Lola also believed school culture was critical in helping to support high expectations. At Andrews, Lola was disappointed by what she saw as a lack of real learning that plagued many classrooms. Lola believed that if Andrews committed to high

expectations and high standards for students, then its supposed commitment to "no excuses"—the statement that was emblazoned on the back of the school t-shirt—would be evidenced in the students' academic performance. However, instead, she believed the school suffered from a lack of clear and consistent expectations that interfered with student achievement. She found this particularly dismaying in light of her interest in working with urban students of color to create opportunities for them to gain skills and improve their life chances. Thus, Lola's general response was to reject the discourse of expectations she perceived at Andrews and seek evidence elsewhere that her vision of socially just teaching could be realized.

Perhaps because of Lola's disappointment with the discourse of expectations at Andrews, she sought examples of schools that reinforced her entering expectations. In fact, even during her student teaching year, she actively sought other examples to learn from as she developed her own perspective on teaching for social justice. In particular, Lola was drawn to the culture of the KIPP Academies, mostly because they seemed to represent a culture of expectations and accountability that countered the discourse she had experienced at Andrews.

In several interviews in her teacher education year, Lola referenced the KIPP schools she had visited as part of her job search, and how impressed she was by their commitment to students. The KIPP Academies, founded by two former Teach for America graduates in the mid-1990s, are a collection of more that 60 charter schools throughout the country that focus primarily on working with low-income students of color. In Lola's mind, the KIPP approach aligned with the image of teaching for social justice that brought her to teaching—schools and teachers held high expectations for

students and pushed them to excel, despite whatever hardships the students faced, and in turn, the students had access to better lives. In the following excerpt, from an interview at the end of student teaching, when I asked Lola about what it meant to teach for social justice, she described how the philosophy of KIPP schools mirrored her ideas about social justice:

> The first step is getting an education that's quality and that, in my particular opinion, is taught by people who don't rush in the morning and throw up a lesson for you, and that they really have thought about what you're going to learn and what you specifically need to learn and make big goals for you to reach and all that kind of stuff. People who are really going to put out themselves to help because you are coming from a place, or these students are coming from a place where they're behind. And so it's going to take more energy to get them up in reading.
>
> Interviewer And in that definition of social justice…have you been able to see that this year?
>
> Lola Not really this past year. But in some of the places I've interviewed, going to see the KIPP School a few times, it really happens there…seeing the gains that those kids make. (Interview 6)

Lola believed the discourse of expectations that KIPP articulated matched her own developing ideology of social justice.

Taking account of Lola's interest in KIPP provides a way of seeing how the master narrative of accountability influenced her developing discourse of expectations. According to the KIPP Academies website, KIPP schools focus on five basic pillars: high

expectations, choice and commitment, more time, power to lead, and focus on results. The commitment to high expectations is explained as follows:

> KIPP schools have clearly defined and measurable high expectations for academic achievement and conduct that make no excuses based on the students' backgrounds. Students, parents, teachers, and staff create and reinforce a culture of achievement and support through a range of formal and informal rewards and consequences for academic performance and behavior (KIPP website).

Here the idea of high expectations is linked to a strong belief in meritocracy, in which "no excuses" are made based on students' backgrounds.

KIPP schools also make an explicit commitment to raising student performance on standardized assessments and other "objective measures" and demonstrate the schools' general embrace of accountability systems. In essence, KIPP school discourses suggests that accountability systems can improve the opportunities and life chances of urban students, and that society will reward students for their individual efforts, despite their backgrounds. These ideas appealed to Lola as she considered what she saw as a lack of commitment and high expectations at Andrews.

However, it is important to note that, at the same time that Lola was disappointed by the discourse of expectations at Andrews, in her student teaching year, she did have exposure to a range of teachers struggling with the question of how to hold high expectations for their students. First, Lola often referred to Ms. Fox's work, and her commitment to high expectations for all students. She did not work directly with Ms. Fox, but she did visit her classroom and talk with her about her practice, drawing on some of her ideas for her own student teaching. In addition, although Lola questioned

Mrs. Rodgers' commitment, in my interview with Mrs. Rodgers, she spoke at length about the struggle to hold students to high standards and meet the needs of everyone in the class. She explained that she particularly valued Lola's work with the lower-level students in particular because, as the teacher of record, she felt so "bounded" by "moving the middle." She explained:

> I am bounded by moving the middle. And I try to bring the two, the two ends together. But I am bounded by moving the middle because the middle's the ones--
>
> Interviewer Can you tell me about that for a minute, the moving the middle?
>
> Ms. Rodgers Okay. The middle of my class is the majority of the kids, okay? And you're, you feel like as a teacher, you're always going to catch the high ones. They're going to understand. And unfortunately you don't always get to challenge them enough. They understand what you're saying, okay? And you're moving the middle where you teach to the middle…The low group I'd always try to do the best I can with them, but then really the low group usually had IEP kids…[they have] pullout to help with the gaps, you know what I mean? And that's what I mean by moving the middle.

This excerpt indicates that Mrs. Rodgers felt a real tension between her desire to hold high expectations and support all her students, while also managing the pressure she felt to prepare students for assessments. Her use of the term "moving the middle" reflects the demands she felt regarding the assessment systems that are part of the master narrative of accountability—the idea of moving the middle is premised on the fact that schools are assessed based on their ability to improve scores from year to year; raising the scores of students "in the middle" makes the most difference for a schools' annual yearly progress.

This example gets at the relationship between the master narrative and the intermediate discourse of expectations at Andrews. Teachers were expected to achieve results where results would make the most difference for the school, regardless of the impact on individual students.

Mrs. Rodgers' use of the term "moving the middle" also mirrored Lola's critique of her in that she believed Mrs. Rodgers did not focus enough attention on students at all levels, and seemed to give up on students like M-. She attributed this to Mrs. Rodgers' lack of drive or effort. In fact, while Mrs. Rodgers did not feel there was much she could do to change the situation for students like M-, Lola felt that, as a teacher for social justice, it was her duty to move all the students and not just the middle. Yet, it is notable that, in Lola's experience at Andrews, although she was critical of Mrs. Rodgers, they also forged a close and collaborative relationship and Lola had exposure to a teacher who clearly struggled with the very ideas and commitments that Lola was attempting to negotiate as she learned to teach. Exposure to a range of teachers—from Ms. Fox to Mrs. Rodgers—who negotiated the master narrative of accountability and interpreted the discourse of expectations in different ways undoubtedly contributed to Lola's understandings, even if, at this stage in her development, she sustained a fairly simple perspective on holding high expectations.

KIPP's highly mission-driven approach, linked to the current master narratives in education, does not admit any of the complexity that Mrs. Rodgers' articulated when she spoke about the pressure to "move the middle." Yet, at that point in Lola's development, she found the kind of clear and uncomplicated discourse of expectations that KIPP promoted particularly appealing, in part because she was disappointed by Andrews, and

in part because these ideas appealed to her own enduring belief in bridging the racial divide through education. Thus, she sought out work at a school with a similar vision.

At Lola's first teaching job following her pre-service year, as the middle school science teacher at Little Village, Lola found the culture of expectations she had hoped to find at Andrews. Little Village's discourse of expectations was similar to ideas articulated in the KIPP school literature—a commitment to high expectations for behavior and for academic performance, and a belief in individual accountability and individual success through hard work and perseverance, as I describe in the previous section. These ideas represented local instantiations of the master narratives of accountability and meritocracy, and focused specifically on the power of these goals to transform the lives of low-income students of color. Thus, the discourse of expectations, deeply connected to the discourse of race and equity that the school espoused, was a good match for Lola's own entering ideas.

However, over the course of the year, Lola struggled to define her practice, evaluate her students and, in general, negotiate the challenges of being a first year teacher. As a result, she began to deepen her understanding of the complexity of holding high expectations. In fact, as the year progressed, she expressed more and more uncertainty about how to define appropriate expectations and what to expect of her students.

Early in the year, Lola expressed great relief to have found a school environment that matched her own ideas about high academic standards. Comparing the school culture of Little Village to that of Andrews, she explained that there was a lot more

accountability at Little Village. She was pleased that the school held students to such high standards and followed through on this commitment. She explained:

> And the academics, they're learning so much. And they fail…I have kids who get 30% on my tests, and that's okay. They're expected to do poorly if they're not behaving right or if they're not trying...I shouldn't be scooting the kids through.
>
> Interviewer Is that different from the last school?
>
> Lola I'd say so.
>
> Interviewer Was there a "you just move them through" mentality?
>
> Lola No, but the standards are so low that it's very easy to pass. (Interview 7)

As this excerpt indicates, at Little Village, Lola felt supported to hold the students to high expectations, and to fail them if they did not behave or give their best effort, knowing that the school expected her to do so.

Although she may have been drawn to Little Village because it seemed to espouse a straightforward goal of high expectations, in interviews during her first year of teaching, Lola also demonstrated a greater willingness to interrogate the meaning of high expectations. For example, she described how a student from her 7th grade class came in to visit her after school. She gave him some papers to help her grade and he commented that she seemed to give a lot of partial credit for what he thought were not good responses. She relayed this interaction to me to describe how she had a hard time determining appropriate expectations for students. She explained that she gave a lot of partial credit on tests because the material was sophisticated, and she wanted to acknowledge the students who gathered the basic information even if they did not apply

the ideas correctly. Yet, she explained that she struggled with determining what students should know and be able to do:

> Because I have no frame of reference besides myself and I have really high expectations for myself always, so I don't know, is that appropriate?...And I don't know, it's been kind of a common theme. I'll finish correcting a test and be like, they understand, they get the gist, they don't really get it but they get the basic. And, I don't really know. Am I being too harsh? And I wouldn't want to just make it easier because they're in [urban community]. But should I make it easier because they're in seventh grade? (Interview 9)

Lola's uncertainty is palpable in this excerpt, and clearly illustrates her increasing willingness to question what it meant, in practice, to hold high expectations for students. She wondered if her expectations were appropriate, if her grading was too easy or too harsh, and if she was making too few or too many allowances. It is also significant that this questioning was prompted by an interaction with a student—her emerging openness to the questions that even her students raised about her expectations were quite different from her resistance to questioning a discourse of expectations in her student teaching.

Why did Lola become more open to investigating, interrogating, and examining a discourse of expectations in her first year of teaching? Perhaps because she was supported by a strong school discourse of expectations, and because she believed the school followed through on this commitment, Lola began to explore some of the challenges and tensions associated with holding high expectations. At Andrews, where she witnessed wha she saw as a failure to hold students like M- to high expectations, she pushed back against what she thought was a kind of laziness, rather than exploring the

complexity of high expectations for all students. However, in an environment that was more compatible with her beliefs, she may have felt more comfortable exploring her understanding of the discourse of expectations.

Lola's willingness to question and challenge the idea of high expectations may also be attributed to the high level of support and guidance she experienced in her first job at Little Village. According to Lola, at Little Village, Mr. Shaw observed her at least 14 times, and provided her with significant written and oral feedback. In my interview with Mr. Shaw, he explained that new teachers were encouraged to admit that they did not "know the answers." He explained that he tried to create a supportive teaching environment:

> I try and build a real sense of community within the teachers themselves so they can reach out and support each other. I asked K- (mentor teacher) to go over and give Lola feedback [in] a non sort-of evaluatory [way] on classroom management because she was struggling with that, and asked her [Lola] to go into other classrooms and [I] ask teachers to be comfortable with that.

In addition to Mr. Shaw's commitment to promote a culture of support and openness among the teachers, he also provided an example for Lola of another educator struggling to establish high expectations and teach in ways that promoted social justice. In fact, in my interview with him, he characterized the school's central struggle as one between what he called "the ideal" and "the real." He referred to the school's ideal goals of high expectations for academic success, good behavior, and good citizenship, while facing the reality of many special education students, significant behavior challenges, and sometimes a real chasm between home and school values. He described how the faculty

continued to work to develop systems to support students in ways that would allow the school to meet these goals. Yet, all the while he recognized the challenge between the school's big goals, and the realities they faced. He explained:

> We've got the ideal and we've got the real…and also the sense that the job in a school is never done so that…you're striving for something but you'll never get there. Because if you're getting close, you just raise the bar higher anyway.

Like Mrs. Rodgers, Mr. Shaw provided a model for Lola of an experienced teacher struggling with the many tensions and challenges associated with the discourse of high expectations. As the excerpt above indicates, he believed teachers continually considered and revised their goals for themselves and their students. Thus, in Lola's first year of teaching, she struggled with a discourse of expectations, but she also came to see that the struggle was part of the ongoing work of teaching.

When Lola moved to Garden, in keeping with ideas that were promoted at Little Village, she continued to hold high expectations for students' academic work, and was not afraid to fail students when they did not meet her expectations. However, she continued to raise questions, including what expectations were most important. She reflected on this both in terms of the school culture and her role as a teacher. She explained:

> I think expectations are really tough because you can say one thing but so many times people don't follow through….And at all three schools I think there have been problems with that. Me doing it. Administrators doing it. Other teachers, and so I think that one thing that I've taken away or I've realized is just how important it is to be very careful about what I'm going to be picky about and then focus on it

> and make sure that I don't waiver. And I think that it's —I've realized how important it is for a school to be really thoughtful and critical of what they're choosing their expectations to be because when you give all of these expectations and you don't plan on upholding half of them, then you as the adult just look like you don't really know what you're doing. (Interview 11)

As this excerpt indicates, while Lola remained committed to the idea of high expectations, over the course of several years in the classroom, and as she was exposed to several different school contexts, she also developed a more cautious and realistic perspective about the challenges associated with holding high expectations. Whereas she was critical of the schools and teachers she observed who seemed to give up on students, she also to recognize how complicated a discourse of expectations really is. She recognized that, everywhere she had worked, she had seen teachers struggle to define expectations. In addition, she also acknowledged how important it was for a teacher to make careful and consistent choices about her expectations. Thus, Lola came to see setting and holding high expectations for students not as a simple platitude but instead, as an ongoing and essential question—even a quandary—in teaching for social justice.

Discourse of Practice: From Basic Skills and Standard Assessments to Thinking Critically about Critical Thinking

Related to Lola's passion for working to increase opportunities for students of color, she expressed a commitment to building basic skills and promoting academic success on standard assessments. This interest was sustained throughout most of the time I followed her, but like the discourses above, Lola's interpretation of a discourse of practice for social justice became more complex as she applied it to the realities she

encountered in teaching. Whereas, in her early days, Lola was caught up in the master narrative of accountability and meritocracy and drawn to the idea of closing the achievement gap by building students' basic skills, by the time she was in her third year as a teacher, although she had not given up on basic skills, she had quite radically shifted her perspective and her practice of teaching for social justice.

Lola's early discourse of practice was related to her general embrace of assessment as accountability. Specifically, she connected increasing opportunities for her students of color to a discourse of practice that focused primarily on achieving results on standard assessments. This may have been influenced by her respect for teachers like her AP Biology teacher, whom she admired for the results she got on the AP exam. In addition, on several occasions, Lola referred to her general preference for subjects like math and science because they were less open to interpretation and more objective—suggesting an implicit belief in the idea of a neutral and objective set of knowledge to transmit to students. Finally, Lola's father may also have had an influence on her ideas about accountability and assessment. A public school principal, her father had worked in a state department of education, and had been involved in special education and desegregation efforts. She respected his experience and he shared some of his ideas with his daughter as she began her teacher education coursework. She described a paper she wrote for one of her courses for which her father had given her literature about accountability and achievement. She explained:

> One of the papers we had to write was called "closing the achievement gap" and my dad gave me some literature on 90- 90- 90 schools which are schools where 90 percent of the students are receiving free and reduced lunch and…I forget what

> the 2nd one was, and then the 3rd is that 90 percent are passing whatever the standards are. And one of the big things was constant assessment of students and constant feedback, and I definitely want to try to do a lot of that. (Interview 1)

In this excerpt, Lola highlighted some of her most compelling ideas related to teaching. First, she was particularly drawn to working with low-income students of color; the schools in the article were schools where 90% of the students were low-income, 90% were students of color, and 90% were passing the state standards. In addition, she was impressed with schools that achieved success on standard assessments and hoped to learn how to do the same in her teaching.

Linked to Lola's general embrace of standard assessments and the idea of a set of neutral knowledge that these assessments measured, was her focus on a discourse of practice that promoted basic skills. As such, Lola was generally satisfied with the teacher education methods courses that focused on basic skills and critical of the coursework in what she saw as more subjective subjects such as Language Arts or Social Studies. She appreciated the math and science methods courses' focus on basic skills and concepts, and was more circumspect about her social studies and language arts methods courses, because she did not think they provided her with as clear a sense of what was important to teach and how to teach it.

Thus, in her student teaching, in part due to her own entering discourse of practice, the idea of building basic skills became a driving force in Lola's understanding of social justice. In particular, her experience in Mrs. Rodgers' classroom led her to focus on students' acquisition of basic math skills. Lola saw the students struggle with math and believed that, although the mandated curriculum focused on investigation and

inquiry, there had to be some basic instruction and drill in order to prepare them to do the higher order thinking required by the mandated curriculum. She explained that she and Mrs. Rodgers had worked together to build more basic instruction into the math curriculum to compensate for what she saw as a lack of basic skill development:

> [The mandated curriculum] is all about having kids construct their own knowledge and not telling them things. And I agree with that to an extent. But I think in math especially, they can run around and around in circles for a long time, and you don't have that time in the classroom. So I think you start a unit with Scott Foresman, or integrate the two, it's made it more clear for the kids so that then they apply the concepts and constructs. But they also have some kind of baseline to go from. (Interview 2)

Over the course of the year, Lola developed a clear philosophy of math instruction that focused primarily on building her students' basic skills. Her attention to basic skills became a central focus of her instruction in general, and specifically her capstone inquiry project.

Lola's teacher education program required all students to conduct a classroom inquiry project in their student teaching classroom. Lola chose to focus on strategies for improving students' math skills and engagement, inspired by her observations of the range of abilities in Mrs. Rodgers' classroom. Specifically, Lola's inquiry project evolved out of a desire to respond more effectively to students like M-, who really struggled with basic concepts and became overwhelmed in whole class instruction. To respond to the range of needs and abilities in the class, Lola researched differentiated instruction strategies and came up with a rotation model, in which three groups of leveled students

moved around the room from small group instruction, to independent work, to computer-based enrichment activities.

The project was a success in many ways. Lola's data indicated that student performance and confidence improved for all students. In an observation I conducted during these math rotations, the students seemed more engaged than I had observed in other lessons, from the most advanced students to those who had struggled throughout the year. D-, whom Lola had described as a disciplinary challenge because he was bored in class, was so interested in what he was working on that he was the last to leave class because he wanted to figure out the math problem. Children on the other end of the continuum also showed a high level of engagement, including M-. Below is an excerpt from field notes that demonstrates how Lola worked with the lower-level students in the rotation:

> Lola: "OK, for that first question, what is the shaded area? This has messed up every group so we're going to look at this together."
>
> [Lola asks M- and he says "4x10" and something else very quietly.]
>
> Lola: "No, the shaded area. Just like La- said…OK J- try."
>
> [J- doesn't say anything audible. La- says her answer.]
>
> Lola: "This is a good start. The problem is you didn't explain where 4 and 10 come from." Someone in the group says something about perimeter.
>
> Lola: "It's not perimeter, it's the area. How do you find the area?"
>
> M-: "You times it…"
>
> Lola: "Right, you multiply…" [she pauses briefly for M- to answer but then jumps in] "Base times height, right?"

[N- shows Lola her answer.]

Lola: "Oh, I love this." [She reads N's answer, that explains that 4 is the length and 10 is the height.] "Listen to what N- wrote," she says. "That's an excellent answer. Did you do that on your own?" [N- nods.]

Lola: "So are we all clear on how to solve that?" [She gets some nods of agreement.]

Lola: "OK, let's go on to the last part. It's just like we did last week. So, M-, how do you do surface area of a whole shape?"

[M- explains and has all the sides figured correctly until the third side, for which he hasn't used the right numbers. She goes back and forth with him trying to direct him to the right answer.]

Lola [to M-]: "No, why 20? What?" [She's trying to get him to arrive at the right surface area for one of the sides.]

Lola: "Then what do you do once you add them?"

J-: "You double it."

Lola: "Ok go ahead and do the math. I want to see the whole table do the math."

(Field Notes, 5/06)

This exchange may seem unremarkable until one compares the level of engagement and investment exhibited by students who, earlier in the year, had their heads down on their desks during lessons, turned their back to the teacher during whole class instruction, and in other ways demonstrated little interest in mastering the content. With Lola's rotations, she was able to gauge students' understanding and their ability, and really engage some of the students who had struggled the most.

In addition to the math rotations, Lola also instituted "Karate Math", in Mrs. Rodgers' classroom, which involved weekly one-minute quizzes of times tables. She found this to be another successful strategy for building her students' basic skills. In an observation of this activity, once again, M- served as an example of a student who, despite struggling for much of the year, seemed to respond enthusiastically to Lola's focus on basic skills. The following is an excerpt from field notes:

> Lola: "OK, we're going to do a quick karate math. [The students settle in immediately.] Alright I need it quiet. Ready. Set. Go."
>
> [They begin the quiz. All are focused on worksheets, working quietly and quickly until Lola calls time, after one minute.]
>
> Lola: "…And done."
>
> [As soon as she says, "and done", there is excited commotion in the room. The students lift their heads from the desks and look around, talk to each other about what they just did. M- is up out of his chair, excited that he finished the task on time.]
>
> M- and another boy: "Check it now! Please check it now! I have a feeling I made it!" (Field Notes, 5/06)

In this excerpt, many of the students who had been reticent to participate in previous math activities, such as M-, were eager to learn how they had performed on the quiz. This success with M- and his peers provided evidence for Lola that a focus on building basic skills was appropriate for her students, and this matched her own vision of practice, and more generally, of teaching for social justice. However, as her work in the following

years indicate, at the same time that she continued to embrace the need to build basic skills, she also came to have additional learning goals for her students.

Although one of Lola's greatest frustrations at Andrews had been the lack of a clear and consistent school-wide disciplinary strategy, she did have the regular support of Mrs. Rodgers to help her keep students focused, and this allowed her to attend to content. When Lola went to Little Village, she anticipated continuing to build skills and teach basic concepts and also imagined that she might employ a range of strategies, including demonstrations, labs, and activities. However, not surprisingly, as a first year teacher, Lola spent a lot of time and attention on classroom management, and this influenced her ideas about teaching and her practice.

At Little Village, there was a systematic approach to discipline. The students received merits, demerits, plusses, and minuses throughout the day based on their behavior and their performance on classroom work. Teachers were expected to conduct class and also keep track of all the marks students received. If a student received more than three demerits in a period, he or she was sent to the teacher who held "the book" for the period. The teacher with the book then called the student's parents to alert them to the student's misbehavior. This occurred for some students several periods a day.

Lola was expected to follow this procedure, which created challenges for her as she strove to balance students' disciplinary issues with content-based instruction. As a result of her difficulties with classroom management, early in the year she believed that until she got the discipline under control, she could not do the kinds of interactive work she had imagined she might do as a science teacher. The rotations and group-based work

that she had employed in student teaching did not seem possible due to the behavior issues she faced.

In the first observation I conducted at Little Village, which was in the beginning of November, the majority of Lola's attention was on following the discipline protocol. As the example below shows, Lola interrupted her teaching repeatedly to assign "demerits":

> Student: "Ms. Werner, Ms. Werner—after pumice what are those two words?"
>
> [Lola reads them back to the kids.]
>
> Lola: "OK silence…3, 2, 1, and demerits. Misty, demerit, stop talking, you're at three. Intrusive rocks cool under the earth and then rise to surface. OK let me write that down and then I will explain."
>
> Misty: "Can you just write 'under earth's surface'?"
>
> L: "Yes."
>
> [Cherry slaps her hand on her desk and then says, "I am done…" and smiling, she walks up to front of the room and stands next to Lola, then she comes back to her desk and grabs her other stuff.]
>
> Lola: "OK Misty that's four, you gotta go." [It is not clear what Misty has been doing to earn all these demerits. She is seated on the other side of the room and closer to the front and I am not aware of her actions.]
>
> Misty: "I don't come back?"
>
> Lola: "Come back but go sign in. Cherry, that's a demerit, you've got to be in your seat."

[Meanwhile, Cherry seems to be moving herself up front. It's not clear why Cherry has moved up to the front and if she is doing so to get a rise out of Lola or if she has been told to come up front.]

Lola: "All eyes up here…I am giving demerits, I am sorry this is taking so long." (Field Notes, 11/01/06)

This chaotic moment reflected much of what occurred during the class period. In fact, Lola made it through very little of the material on the overhead projector. Perhaps because she was preoccupied with learning the behavior system, it seemed that other kinds of interactions with students were more limited, and very little content was covered during the class period. In general, during the first half of the year, Lola sacrificed the interactive practices she had hoped to employ in her science classroom in favor of seatwork, where she felt she could better control her students. This reaction to the students' behavior is in keeping with research on new teachers that indicates that, once they have responsibility for their own classrooms, they often revert to a "custodial" teaching role that places more emphasis on classroom order than on innovative pedagogy (Richardson & Placier, 2001; Flores & Day, 2006).

However, this was not a permanent solution for Lola. Rather, as the year progressed, she both gained increased facility with the behavior system and, perhaps more importantly, with Mr. Shaw's support, she modified the system to meet her needs in the classroom. Specifically, for Lola's class, once the students were sent out of the room, they could not return for the rest of the period. She believed that this modification helped her to get the discipline under control and allowed her to start teaching science in the way she had imagined. It was critical to her success that she received support from her

teaching peers and superiors. Whereas Elsie was left largely to her own devices, as I demonstrate in the next chapter, the collaborative and flexible support Lola received from her supervisor and colleagues made it possible for her to keep experimenting and improving her overall practice so she could focus on teaching science.

With some of her discipline issues resolved, Lola could focus more attention on what and how she taught. At some point mid-way through her year at Little Village--and with Mr. Shaw's encouragement as he thought that, though Lola was strong in her subject area, she would benefit from additional professional development because she was the only middle school science teacher in the school--Lola began regularly attending local science museum events for teachers, including participating in workshops and using the museum's resource room librarians as additional content-mentors. As a result of these new resources, she incorporated additional labs and activities, and came to see more of a relationship between her teaching practice and her students' behavior. Specifically, she began to recognize that the way she designed instruction had an impact on student engagement and, in turn, on classroom culture. For example, while Lola's 8th grade class had been quite unruly and unfocused in November, later observations of the same group of students showed them engaged in labs and classroom discussions. In a January observation, the 8th grade measured velocity using a rollercoaster set up at the front of the room. Several students wanted to use the stopwatch, record the time, or send the car down the rollercoaster. Generally, the level of student engagement was much higher than what I had observed in November.

In addition, Lola referred to a lab she conducted with her 8th grade as a highlight of her first year of teaching. She got the idea from a workshop about engineering that she

attended at the science museum. She provided the students with materials that they used to build a tower sound enough to hold the stuffed animal she provided. This activity introduced the students to basic engineering properties and required them to work together, experiment, and innovate. Lola explained that her students really got into the activity, and set about the task with total focus. She described how this lesson inspired her:

> Science should be that way. And I think that…I want to do that all the time and just be able to do the notes to back up the concepts, but that they should really be getting it by time we're doing the notes. Or maybe vice versa but they really had this experience when they were actually paying attention to what they were doing and enjoying it. (Interview 8)

This excerpt is important for two reasons. First, it was significant for Lola because her students' enthusiastic engagement in a lab that required them to creatively problem-solve inspired her to see a relationship between pedagogical choices and students' behavior. When she provided them with an engaging task, they responded with enthusiasm. Thus, rather than relying on the discipline system to manage the classroom, Lola began to make connections between pedagogy and overall classroom culture.

It is interesting to note that several Hill University faculty members explained in interviews that they did not explicitly teach classroom management but did attend to it, they believed, through their discussion of pedagogy. In other words, they touched on classroom management when they covered lesson planning or assessment, or when they discussed the relationship between teachers and students. However, they admitted that they did not spend considerable time on it as a discrete topic. The pre-service program's

lack of attention to classroom management as a separate topic was a complaint made by both of the teachers in this study. In Lola's case, she came to see just the kind of relationship between pedagogy and classroom management that her professors had suggested in their interviews. Perhaps this suggests that there is indeed some "lag time" (Crow, 1987) between what teachers learn in teacher education and their capacity to understand and apply it in the classroom. For example, whereas Lola had criticized the lack of attention to classroom management, as her perspective toward her practice changed, her professors' ideas about the relationship of pedagogy to management did in fact sink in for her as she began to apply these ideas to practice. For Lola, it was some combination of the additional resources she accessed at the museum, the strong and steady support she received from colleagues Little Village, and the delayed impact of her teacher education program's discourse of practice, that seemed to lead her to make this connection and modify her practice.

In addition, this experience also inspired Lola to revise some of her ideas about knowledge and basic skills. Whereas her discourse of practice in her first year had primarily been organized around the idea of teaching basic skills to her students, she came to see knowledge a bit more broadly and define her practice differently toward the end of her first year of teaching. Specifically, her students' enthusiastic reaction to this lab encouraged her to consider the role of critical thinking in the science classroom. This focus on critical thinking, only emerging toward the end of her first year of teaching, represented a divergence from the intent focus on basic skills that had characterized her discourse of practice in her year at Andrews.

Yet, at the same time that Lola's understanding of a discourse of practice moved beyond building basic skills, she continued to embrace standardized assessment and accountability. As I describe above, Lola came to teaching with a general embrace of accountability, and this focus was reinforced by Little Village's emphasis on this. Lola told me in several interviews that Little Village middle school science scores on the MCAS had been some of the best in the city in previous years and she felt significant pressure to sustain the school's reputation in her first year at the school. In addition, the culture of the school put a lot of emphasis on student performance on the MCAS exam, as evidenced by the principal's speech, cited above, at the "town hall" meeting.

Thus, Lola organized much of her curriculum in the 8th grade around preparing her students for the exam. She included MCAS questions on every test and, on the day she administered the MCAS, she made them chocolate covered strawberries as a treat, hung up posters that said, "You can do it!" and played gospel music to motivate and inspire her students. She explained that, on the day of the exam, she felt like a teacher in the movies:

> If you were going to dramatize my life and put it in a movie, I made it to the hill at that moment. I'm standing there, the gospel music is playing, and, they're working and they're confident and they know this and we did it. So that was really, really satisfying. (Interview 9)

This excerpt suggests how important the MCAS was as a goal for Lola. She gauged her success at the end of the year based on how the students approached the exam, and was gratified that they seemed confident. At this point in her developing discourse of practice, Lola did not question whether the test was fair or measured the appropriate skills, even

though she was beginning to explore the role of critical thinking and problem solving in the science classroom. Rather, she felt considerable pressure to improve student performance on the MCAS and expected to evaluate her success based on the results. Yet, in her second year teaching, as Lola continued to explore new ideas related to teaching science, her attitude toward standardized assessment shifted.

Specifically, at Garden, inspired both by some of what she had observed from her students at Little Village as well as the influence of the National Science Teachers Association Conference (NSTA), which she attended in the winter of her year at Garden, Lola continued to explore the place of critical thinking in the science classroom. Yet, she also struggled with the balance of basic skills and critical thinking, as the excerpt below illustrates:

> NSTA [is] really pushing kids to be…Student Scientists. We don't need Science students. And I just completely agree. And the US is so far behind. And kids don't know how to critically think and Science is a subject where you should be learning to critically think. But it's really hard when there's certain content that we're supposed to cover and there are things--There are definitely critical thinking exercises that you can do or labs that you can have but what do you do when your kids don't even know enough information to be able to--? I think there are legitimate times when they don't know enough or have enough background knowledge to be able to make a plan to address a critical question. (Interview 10)

Here Lola expressed both her interest in promoting critical thinking and the tension she felt about preparing her students with the basic skills that she thought were essential in order to be able to think critically. Whereas, at Andrews, Lola had neither discussed

critical thinking nor considered the challenges associated with promoting it in her teaching, in her second year as a teacher, she began to embrace it as a goal for her practice and also question how viable it was. Lola's recognition of this tension between basic skills and critical thinking shows how she deepened her discourse of practice. She did not reject basic skills in favor of critical thinking but she considered these goals in light of each other, and recognized that there were no easy answers when one attempted to define a discourse of practice that promoted social justice.

My observation of Lola's teaching at Garden reflected this shift in the focus of her instruction. On the day I visited, the 8th grade was working on skits about environmental issues. The lesson, based on a National Geographic film series called "Strange Days on Planet Earth," raised questions about the impact of invasive species on various ecosystems. For example, one scenario involved a disagreement between the oyster industry and a Native American tribe regarding the overgrowth of a particular species of grass in a bay off the Washington coast. The oyster industry advocated using herbicide, while the Native Americans were concerned about the impact of herbicide on local residents. Lola's students worked in groups to analyze this and other scenarios, identify central issues, and performed a skit about their scenario for the class. The students enjoyed the dramatic aspect of the assignment, but they also spent time analyzing the core issues. This activity, quite different from the focus of much of Lola's instruction in previous years, challenged the students to think clearly and critically about a controversial issue, and connected a core science concept—the idea of invasive species—to real world issues (Field notes, 5/08).

This increased focus on critical thinking also influenced Lola's evolving ideas about the role of high stakes exams. Whereas she had been a strong advocate of high stakes assessments during her first year of teaching at Little Village, toward the end of her second year, at Garden, she questioned whether the exams were so valuable. She explained that when she thought about her own learning, what she remembered were the projects that required her to think critically and problem-solve, and not her performance on exams. She described this change in her perspective:

> But what I do remember are the certain projects or times when I really had to think something through and I just--. It's too bad that that's kind of in conflict with the tests, the high stakes test, because I think it would be a lot more valuable to do a whole year of science where you're just pushing kids to learn to be critical thinkers.
>
> Interviewer So that's interesting because last year I got the impression that you felt really good about the MCAS.
>
> Lola Yeah, I feel slightly differently…. because I think that the MCAS is very content-based and I think that's important but I also think that critical thinking is something that students need to learn to do and we don't value it enough or test it enough or teach it enough...Yeah, I'm kind of changing. (Interview 10)

The excerpt above represents a powerful shift in Lola's thinking about what kind of learning was most important and why. She continued to believe in teaching core concepts and skills but began to question whether something important was lost when this became the sole focus of instruction. Instead, as a result of her work in classrooms at Little Village and Garden, as well as the exposure she had to new ideas through participation in

workshops and conferences, Lola came to question the role of standard assessments and see these as, in some ways, in conflict with the kind of teaching and learning she valued.

Two specific influences may have pushed Lola away from such an embrace of standard assessments. First, whereas Little Village firmly embraced standard assessments and Lola felt considerable pressure to prepare the students for the exam, Garden did not emphasize standard assessment as strongly, particularly not in science. Lola explained that this was in part because the science curriculum did not align with the test, and the test in science was not yet high stakes. Although Lola felt that, in general, this was a mistake because ultimately the test would be high stakes and then the school would have a lot of catching up to do, this freedom also allowed her to question the test more than she did in the higher stakes environment she encountered at Little Village.

In addition, and perhaps more importantly, Lola's experience at the NSTA conference really excited and challenged her to think differently about teaching. As evidenced by the excerpt above, the idea of promoting "student scientists" rather than "science students" inspired her to want to employ more inquiry-based learning. This forced her to reconsider what the standard assessments measured and question whether the kinds of skills that really mattered could be assessed through these tests.

It is worth noting that, in Lola's third year as a full-time teacher, after moving to yet another charter school, her rejection of high stakes tests became even more emphatic. At the new school, organized around an expeditionary model in which students worked across subject areas on real world problems, she came to see the value of this kind of learning on students' skill development, intellectual curiosity, and enthusiasm. For the fall semester "expedition", students participated in an energy audit of the school building,

evaluating the overall energy costs and presenting to the faculty and school leadership about ways to reduce energy expenses. She described how, on the Friday before the December holiday, when it is usually difficult to keep students' attention, her students were entirely focused, preparing elaborate charts and talking points for the presentation.

As Lola developed her discourse of practice, she was strongly influenced by the discourses of her schools—represented by the voices of her colleagues and her students. In particular, as she gained experience in the classroom, and with considerable support from teaching colleagues both at Little Village and in other contexts, to invent and reinvent her practice, she sought a balance of building skills and promoting critical thinking. Thus, Lola's discourse of practice became more nuanced and creative as she gained confidence and skill in the classroom.

Discourse of Responsibility: From Blame to Balance

A discourse refers not only to words spoken but also to values, ideas, and practices. The discourse of responsibility, closely related to the discourses described above, includes ideas and practice related to schools', teachers', and students' responsibility for student success. This discourse also includes ideas about advocacy and activism and the impact of larger structural issues on schools and students. As such, much of Lola's discourse of responsibility, and its changing nature over time, are captured in the discussion of the other discourses above. However, in this section, I specifically discuss how Lola moved from placing blame on teachers and schools for not taking responsibility, and thereby not teaching for social justice, to recognizing the complexity of taking responsibility for student learning and success.

During her pre-service teacher education program, Lola interpreted the discourse of responsibility almost entirely in terms of teachers' and schools' responsibility to "push students" and not give up on them, regardless of their background or skill level. Later in her development, Lola began to grapple with the balance of responsibility between students and teacher, and the influence of larger social and cultural conditions on her own and her students' success. But, in her early days of teaching she tended to place blame either on the teachers with whom she worked, on the schools, or on herself.

It is important to recognize that, as Lola entered her pre-service program, she generally accepted the master narratives of accountability and meritocracy as these related to teachers', schools', and individuals' responsibility for student success. As described above, initially she accepted the idea of measuring teachers' success according to their students' performance on standardized assessments and believed that teachers and students could succeed through their own effort, regardless of circumstance. Although she recognized the barriers presented by race, she was skeptical of the extent to which it influenced student outcomes, if effort and perseverance were present.

As such, Lola was particularly critical of what she witnessed at Andrews, believing that the teachers were responsible for the low quality of student work. Her strong critique of Andrews' culture and, in turn, her embrace of the culture of KIPP schools, indicated that Lola did not at that point interpret responsibility for student success as a tentative and complex goal. Instead, she criticized individual teachers, like Mrs. Rodgers, and the larger school culture for a lack of commitment to high expectations and follow-through. Although this may have been a reasonable assessment of Andrews' discourse of responsibility, and even of some of the teachers she observed, it

also suggests that Lola did not demonstrate the critical and interrogative stance that she developed over time. This may have been, in part, a result of the enduring impact of her entering views but it may also have been a failing of the program to engage her in real conversation about the complexity of these ideas and goals.

A particularly unfortunate interaction with her Hill University supervisor occurred during Lola's initial days at Andrews, and this interaction had a lasting impact on the degree to which Lola engaged in critical reflection for the rest of the program. For Lola's first journal entry, she was asked to reflect on her first days at Andrews. Lola described a staff meeting she attended, in which the principal arrived 30 minutes late, and announced to the faculty, "7:15-7:45 was your time; now to infinity is my time." Lola responded in her journal entry that this comment seemed somewhat disrespectful. In addition, she discussed what Mrs. Rodgers had told her about student placements. Mrs. Rodgers had explained that, as a teacher with a track record of success with difficult students, her classes were often 'stacked' with students who were considered behavior problems. In Lola's journal, she questioned this approach, referring to her father's management of these kinds of placement issues when he was a principal. In response to her journal entry, Lola's supervisor wrote the following:

> I believe much of your criticism is based on misperceptions, misunderstandings, and over-generalizations…I am curious how you acquired the ability to judge a person's competency to perform in the role of administrator after spending a short six hours in a school setting…I respect your family's connection to education. My son also had both parents in education—career teachers in [urban public school district]. However, in as much as you come with some prior knowledge of how

> students are assigned, you really can't compare the complexities of urban student placement to suburban placement. It is like comparing apples and oranges. If teachers didn't totally accept the way students are assigned, then they have a choice to transfer to another school. Surprisingly, they haven't left! (Written response from supervisor to Journal #1)

This response did not lead Lola to stop questioning or being critical about what she observed and experienced at Andrews, but it did silence her, greatly diminishing her willingness to discuss these observations and reactions in the context of her supervisory relationship. After that incident, Lola did not feel free to express her reactions and reflect on her experiences honestly. It is important to note that the "Urban Scholars" program was in a period of transition during Lola's tenure at Hill. The director had left at the beginning of the year, and Lola's supervisor was a temporary replacement while the program recruited a new director. Thus, Lola's experience in the program was atypical and, as a matter of fact, critical reflection and dialogue are key aspects of the program.

This does not change the situation, however, that for Lola, critical reflection about her school and its policies and practices was generally silenced. Rodgers and Scott (2008) have suggested that teacher candidates come to the process of learning to teach with varying capacities to engage in critical reflection. They argued that teacher education programs therefore have a responsibility to help teacher candidates make sense of and negotiate the cultures they encounter as they attempt to "assume agency, find their voice, and…shape their identities" as teachers (p. 742). Lola would probably have benefited from a supervisor who respected her observations, provided more support to negotiate the Andrews school culture, and encouraged her to interrogate the ideas she encountered

there and at other schools. In this way, the program supervisor might have helped Lola develop a more sophisticated discourse of responsibility. Instead, Lola's lack of opportunity to discuss and interrogate her observations at her student teaching site led to a somewhat simplistic understanding of a discourse of responsibility.

Whereas at Andrews, Lola had largely blamed teachers and the school for the lack of student achievement, at Little Village, she began to struggle with the balance of responsibility necessary between students and teachers. For example, Lola described an incident in one of her 7th grade classes that captured her struggle with this balance of responsibility, and how she understood this as a social justice issue. She explained that students had just received midterm grades and many of them learned that they were failing her class. She assumed that many of them would be concerned about their grades and she had decided to give them the class period to organize their work and catch up on assignments, Yet, Lola described that the classroom was chaotic and students did not seem focused on their work at all. She explained that this concerned her greatly and that she decided to stop the class and describe what she was seeing. She explained that, in the midst of her lecture to the students, she broke into tears:

> I [said], "You all think that I don't care about your grades and that's so not true. I care so much." I just went through this whole song and dance about how, unfortunately middle school does matter for them and it didn't really matter that much for me but it does matter for them and if they want to, the choices they make now are going to affect where they go to high school and on to college and if they don't think they're going to college then that's very unfortunate because they should be planning on college. And I went into this long total social justice

> speech, and somewhere in the middle I was like…, "I've been holding your hand and so many of you haven't even taken me up on it." (Interview 9)

As this excerpt indicates, Lola was frustrated with her students for not taking their work more seriously because she saw the stakes as so high for them. As indicated by her calling her talk a "total social justice speech," she maintained a strong belief that a core aspect of teaching for social justice was about preparing her students for academic success. Thus, it was even more frustrating for her that they did not seem to take responsibility for their learning because she believed they faced more obstacles than she ever had.

Yet, whereas at Andrews, she had seen the failing entirely in terms of the school culture or individual teacher's neglect of students, at Little Village, the school's discourse of student responsibility and individual effort also influenced Lola's understanding of the balance of responsibility. She explained that she had a tendency to blame herself when students failed, and in her first year, others in the school had to remind her to let go of responsibility sometimes. She explained:

> But I think that over the course of this year it's definitely been tempting to distance myself, especially as time has gone on and you feel like you're fighting so hard for the kids to understand and the behavior in the room is so crazy, and…the large amount of apathy that you seem to feel from the students is so strong that, for me I definitely at points…I've had to have other people confirm it for me. I'm like, I don't know what else I can do, I don't know…I really don't know and they're like, it's not you…So people kind of had to tell me to distance myself from it. (Interview 9)

Whereas, without much guidance during her student teaching placement, Lola had had the tendency to point the finger at others and imagine she would do things differently, in her first year, she came to see responsibility as a complex balancing act among teachers, schools, and students. As in other excerpts from Lola's interviews in her first year of teaching, her uncertainty about how to resolve this issue of responsibility was palpable. This uncertainty, however, also indicated that Lola's understanding of the discourse of responsibility was deepening as she experienced her first teaching position.

In contrast to what Lola believed was a clear focus on student accountability at Little Village, at Garden, she was generally disappointed by the school's lack of follow-through with students. As described above, Lola felt Garden, like Andrews, did not practice what they preached in terms of student expectations and accountability. However, whereas at Andrews, Lola's reaction to this disappointment was to blame the school and the teachers for not working hard enough, after her experience at Little Village, her perspective had shifted.

In general, Lola felt that Garden attempted to do too much—she questioned whether the school could work with low-income, underachieving students from depressed neighborhoods, board them at the school, and manage their social, emotional, and academic lives from middle through high school. She was not sure a school could be successful with this heavy responsibility. The challenge was only exacerbated, in Lola's estimation, by the high staff turnover and the lack of consistent leadership. Thus, by her second year teaching, Lola had come to see the complexity of teaching—particularly teaching low-income students of color who lacked access to many of the benefits that she and her peers had had. Lola's reaction to Garden, rather than condemnation, was some

empathy that the project the school had embarked on was complex and the goals were perhaps larger than what individual teachers, students, and schools could achieve. As such, Lola seemed to recognize the reality that Berliner (2005) described, in which children's lives are complicated by a wide array of influences outside of school. Importantly, this did not lead Lola to leave teaching but it did lead her to recognize the complex and irresolvable tensions associated with working with urban students of color who face considerable obstacles that have nothing to do with the classroom.

Discourse of Relationships: Just Good Teaching

The discourse of relationships refers to how teachers interact with students, the kind of support or guidance they provide, and the kind of classroom culture or environment they create. In addition, this discourse includes the teacher's knowledge of students outside the classroom. For Lola, while she clearly developed strong relationships with her students in each of the schools where she taught, she did not interpret her relationships with students as a central goal of social justice. Rather, Lola's discourse of relationships was deeply embedded in her commitment to building the academic and life chances of her students and she saw strong relationships as a byproduct of good teaching. This is particularly interesting because, as the next chapter illustrates, Elsie's understanding of teaching for social justice was organized, in large part, around her belief in the importance of relationships between students and teachers. By contrast, though there was considerable evidence of Lola's concern about her relationships with students, her interpretations of these relationships were largely in service to her other social justice goals such as high expectations and student achievement.

Lola's attention to supporting her students as individuals was evident from the beginning of her teaching. During observations of student teaching, when I arrived before school or at lunch, I often found Lola in the classroom with students, eating her breakfast or lunch and helping them with their work (e.g. Field notes, 4/5/06). In addition, Lola's inquiry project was inspired by her observations of particular students and her belief that she could do more for them. Her attention to students like M-, and her commitment to meet with them outside of class, illustrates her strong belief in building relationships with her students, but in service to the goal of academic achievement.

In fact, Lola spent a lot of time with students in non-academic settings, despite her general focus on their academic wellbeing. At Little Village, a core philosophy of the school had to do with the relationships between teachers and students and the trust that they attempted to build over time. As a result, the school encouraged teachers to be engaged in students' lives outside of class. For example, Lola led a group of students in a book club—something that all the middle school teachers participated in. This allowed her to get to know some of her students in a different and more informal setting. In addition, of her own volition, Lola attended an after school program with several of her students, driving them to and from the activity each week. Finally, in the summer after her year at Little Village, Lola led a group of Little Village students on a trip to Costa Rica. These activities, above and beyond the expectations of the average teacher, suggest that Lola was in fact deeply committed to building strong relationships with her students and getting to know them as individuals. However, when asked about her commitment to relationships as it related to social justice, she brushed it off, and described it as part of the work of a good teacher:

> Maybe that's why I kind of breezed over it [the relationships aspect of social justice]…I think that no matter how you consider yourself as a teacher and for what cause, you need to have relationships with your students unless you just don't care about teaching. (Interview 9)

Thus, although Lola was clearly committed to building strong relationships with students, her developing ideology of social justice privileged other discourses—such as the discourses of expectations or practice—that had to do more directly with building the skills and opportunities for her students. Therefore, though relationships with her students contributed to these goals, for her, a discourse of relationships was ultimately in service to her larger goals.

Conclusion

The process of learning to teach for social justice, as illustrated by Lola's case, is an ideological struggle. This struggle begins in earnest as one gains exposure to a range of different discourses of social justice, and interacts with others also struggling to make sense of the competing demands implied by these discourses. Then, and only then, one has the opportunity to develop a set of internally persuasive discourses of social justice.

In Lola's case, over time, and particularly in the context of a school that supported her development, her interpretations and practices of social justice became more complex and nuanced. In this way, the general and superficial became complex and nuanced. She struggled to make sense of the ideas about social justice that she brought to teacher education, to adapt them, and to apply them to her new contexts. It was this process of interrogating the discourses of social justice that allowed her to begin the process of ideological struggle as a teacher for social justice that she continues still.

Drawing on Bakhtin's ideas about discourse and ideological becoming, Deborah Britzman (1991) called learning to teach "a struggle for voice" (p. 8) among competing influences of past experience, teacher education, and the K-12 schools. As Lola learned to teach, she encountered a range of voices—or as my framework illustrates, discourses—that revealed different interpretations of social justice. As she developed as a teacher, she negotiated the ideas she brought, and those she encountered in teacher education and in each of the schools where she worked, to ultimately construct her own internally persuasive discourses of social justice. Yet, Lola did not experience all the discourses as equally valid, or powerful.

For Lola, the discourses of social justice that she encountered at Little Village were particularly potent influences on her developing understanding and practices of social justice. This was, in part, because they often provided "confirmatory" (Olsen, 2008) experiences, complementing her entering and enduring discourses of social justice. In addition, these discourses were particularly powerful for Lola because they were encountered with strong guidance and support. In particular, at Little Village, Lola's relationship with Mr. Shaw had a powerful influence on her evolving ideology of social justice. Not only because he guided her through her challenges and supported her to ask questions, interrogate ideas, and reach out for help, but also because he demonstrated another teacher struggling by her side. As a result, in her critical first year, she applied, modified, and interrogated the ideas she brought to teaching, and had considerable support to work through and deepen her understandings.

Finally, it is critical to acknowledge the influence of the interrelated master narratives of accountability and meritocracy on Lola's entering discourses and on the

intermediate discourses of the schools where she worked. These also exerted a powerful influence on her developing ideology of social justice, particularly in the first few years. In fact, as Bakhtin described it, the process of ideological becoming begins to occur only after the individual becomes more critical and discriminating about the discourses to which he/she is exposed. For Lola, it was not until her second year of teaching that she really began to deeply question the ideas presented by these master narratives and see the greater complexity embedded in the ideas of accountability, responsibility, and expectations.

Finally, Lola's process of learning to teach suggests that teachers' ideological struggle to develop as educators for social justice does not conclude with identifying a single compelling discourse. Rather, Lola's ideological becoming was about developing a perspective that was constantly evolving from various discourses in conversation, struggle, and tension with one another. This process of negotiating and interrogating discourses did not have an end point. However, her success may be understood, in part, as her embrace of these tensions as necessary for her ongoing learning and development.

CHAPTER SIX: ELSIE REYNOLDS, IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE INTERRUPTED

Elsie Reynolds was a 22-year old graduate of a highly selective liberal arts college when she arrived at Hill University to begin work on her master's degree in secondary English education. Just like Lola, Elsie would have been considered a very promising teacher candidate by any definition of teacher quality. She certainly met the *NCLB* definition of a "highly-qualified teacher:" Elsie attended a prestigious university, where she majored in English literature, studied abroad, and wrote a senior thesis. She also received the highest GRE score among many high scores for the twelve participants in the first cohort of teacher candidates in the larger QCS study. Furthermore, during the two years of Elsie's pre-service education and her first year of teaching, up until she was unexpectedly dismissed from her position, she expressed an unwavering commitment to teaching as a long-term career.

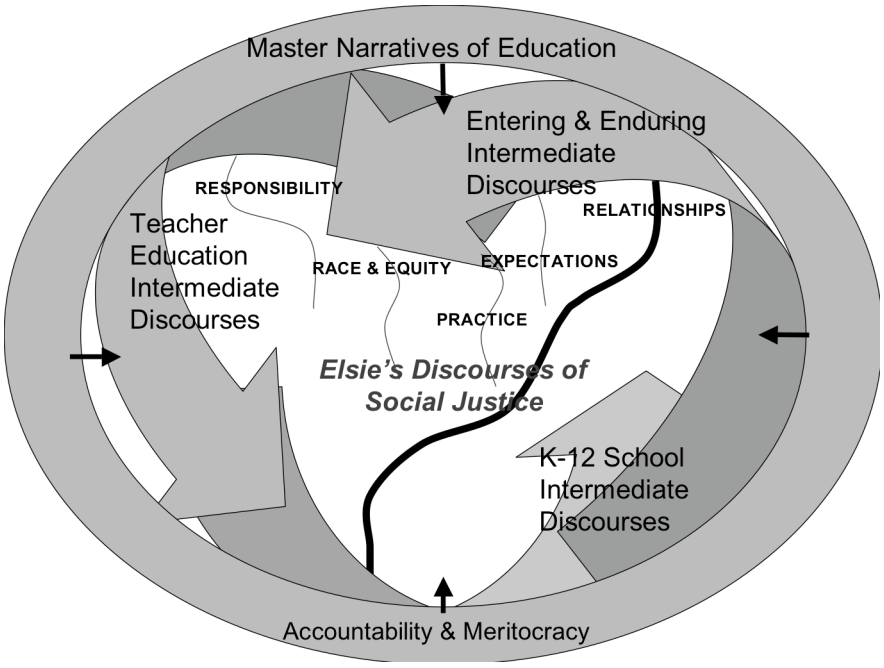
Yet, despite their many similarities as teacher candidates, Elsie Reynold's experience of learning to teach stands in stark contrast to Lola Werner's experience. Whereas Lola came to embrace what I argue in the previous chapter are the essential tensions at the heart of the process of learning to teach for social justice, Elsie was overwhelmed by the struggle of learning to teach and the tensions she encountered as she began teaching. Elsie's contract was abruptly not renewed near the end of her first year, and she left teaching at the end of that school year. At the time of this writing a year and a half later, while Lola is more than mid-way through her third year of teaching, Elsie is working in a completely different field and has no intention of ever returning to the classroom. Why did things turn out so differently for Elsie?

Similar to Lola, Elsie entered teacher education with strong, but somewhat unexamined, personal beliefs about teaching for social justice, and these ideas played a continuing role in her developing ideology of social justice over time. Also like Lola, Elsie experienced tensions and contradictions within and among the various discourses of social justice she encountered in her teacher education program and K-12 school as she learned to teach. Yet, unlike Lola, Elsie lacked adequate support to negotiate the tensions she experienced as she attempted to adapt the discourses of social justice to the contexts in which she learned to teach, and tried to make sense of them in the day-to-day press of teaching. In fact, rather than interrogating, questioning, and ultimately modifying all of the discourses of social justice to make them internally persuasive for her, Elsie embraced some ideas and neglected other important discourses of social justice as she became more entrenched in her K-12 school culture. As a result, she did not engage with the tensions among the discourses and instead—in large part because of the lack of support she experienced—Elsie took the path of least resistance, accepting the somewhat disappointing expectations for students and for practice that she encountered at her school, and generally giving in to the school culture, even when it contradicted with her entering ideas and beliefs. Thus, Elsie did not experience the same successful ideological development that Lola did.

Figure 6.1 represents Elsie's process of learning to teach. The figure demonstrates how Elsie's process was different from Lola's. Whereas Lola's figure shows all five discourses of social justice—expectations, race and equity, responsibility, practice, and relationships—interweaving inside the circle, representing how they did become internally persuasive for Lola over time, the inner circle in figure 6.1 neither includes all

the discourses nor does it show them interweaving or continuing from one end to the other. This is meant to illustrate that Elsie was unable to develop the same range of internally persuasive discourses that Lola did, and therefore suggests that Elsie did not experience the same successful ideological development that Lola did over time. Rather, in Elsie's case, though she began her pre-service program with several different ideas about teaching for social justice, the figure shows many of these discourses disintegrating. As the figure illustrates—and this chapter discusses—the discourse of relationships is represented by a very thick line, indicating that this one particular discourse of social justice overwhelmed the others over time.

Figure 6.1: Learning to Teach for Social Justice: Elsie's Interrupted Ideological Development



Why did this happen? This chapter analyzes how, in contrast to Lola, Elsie was so unsupported at her K-12 school to negotiate the tensions she experienced within and among the discourses of social justice that she did not come to see these tensions as a

necessary part of her development. Rather, Elsie was increasingly overwhelmed by the intermediate discourses of her K-12 school site and, in part because of her own limitations but also due to the circumstances she encountered, Elsie did not develop nuanced and complicated understandings of the range of discourses of social justice described in the previous chapters. Therefore, she never came to see the tensions and contradictions she encountered as a fruitful and necessary part of the work of teaching and ultimately left teaching, disappointed and discouraged.

Elsie Reynolds: A Promising Profile, An Unfortunate Outcome

Like Lola, Elsie had been a strong student all the way through school. In interviews, she explained that her upper middle class suburban high school was academically tracked, and that she had always been in the honors courses, in which there were no more than 15-20 students per class. Because of this, Elsie believed she lacked a broad sense of what happened in many other classrooms. Although she described her schooling as strong in its traditional preparation, and believed she had solid knowledge of the Western Canon, she felt it was lacking in certain areas. Specifically, she believed she had very limited exposure to cultural diversity both in terms of her classmates and in terms of the texts she studied in school.

Despite Elsie's academic success throughout school, she commented that she had struggled socially, especially in elementary school. Then, at some point in middle school, she was introduced—through friends—to her church youth group, and participation in the group really made a difference for her emotional wellbeing. She described the church group as a place where her peers were welcoming and non-judgmental, as opposed to her experience in school where she felt she was sometimes taunted for being a little

overweight and not very pretty. The youth group continued to be a central support for her throughout high school and beyond.

Elsie's church and her religious connections were significant aspects of her identity, and she referred to her religion and her relationship with God in most of our interviews. She described herself as someone who believed "in absolute truths and that there is only one way to know God" (Interview 1), and that she believed that "God needs to direct my life in terms of every decision needs to be based on what he would want" (Interview 1). Elsie's Christianity played a significant role in her interpretation of events and her choices over time. In fact, Elsie's entering and enduring intermediate discourse of Christianity was a very powerful lens through which she interpreted all her experiences.

At the prestigious liberal arts college Elsie attended, she believed she was more conservative than many of her peers. The school was not one of her top choices even though it was a very prestigious school. Yet, she described it as the "best school" to which she was accepted and she came to believe that God had chosen this path for her. She ultimately had a good experience, despite feeling quite different from her peers, and attributed this to first building relationships with people before revealing her traditional Christian beliefs. In other words, she knew that her Christianity set her apart and, despite her passionate commitment to Christ, she sought relationships with peers who were not so religious. She believed that if her peers got to know her as an individual first, her religious beliefs would be less likely to scare away her peers. This is significant to understanding Elsie because it hints at the trust she placed in the power of relationships, which also drove her work with students. As I illustrate in this chapter, Elsie believed that

forging relationships with her students was critical to her success as a teacher for social justice.

Elsie was fresh from college when she began the secondary teacher education master's program. She chose Hill University both because she believed the school had a strong program and because it would allow her to live at home. This was important to her primarily because she wanted to participate more actively in her church community than she had been able to do while away at college.

Elsie began coursework the summer after she graduated from college, and in the fall, she did her first practicum, one day a week, at Marland High School. Marland, a large suburban high school, had a long relationship with Hill College, and took many student teachers every semester. There were close to 2000 students in the school and the student population was somewhat diverse—5% African American, nearly 9% for both Asian and Hispanic students, and almost 74% white. The Department of Education listed it as 7.4% Low Income and 14.8% First Language Not English. Elsie spent one day a week at the school and was placed with a different teacher for each period so she could observe a range of teaching styles. She appreciated this opportunity, but it also made her feel unsettled at the school. She observed regular, honors, and AP classes on the day she was on site, and saw both traditional and more interactive teaching methods. She eventually connected with one teacher for two periods and this was the teacher with whom she did her practice lessons.

For Elsie's student teaching placement, she requested a placement close to her home. She lived more than an hour's drive from Hill University, and there was no school placement near her home that had a long-term relationship with Hill's practicum office.

However, Elsie was prone to exhaustion due to a chronic illness and she worried that a long commute, in addition to the coursework and the demands of student teaching, would be difficult to sustain. She requested a special placement for student teaching and, although the fieldwork directors generally placed student teachers in school sites with connections to the program so they could benefit from regular support of peers, clinical faculty, and teaching staff familiar with the program, Elsie's request was granted in order to accommodate her medical condition. Due to the unusual nature of her placement, Elsie's supervising teacher was not someone who regularly supervised student teachers. She was a retired teacher who had worked at another suburban high school. She observed Elsie a few times in person and they conducted some of their supervisory meetings over the phone rather than face-to-face. Elsie was also the first student teacher that her school had had in several years so in addition, she did not have access to student teaching peers. The fieldwork director told me later that she regretted the decision to allow Elsie to work at the school though she had made the allowance in order to accommodate Elsie's particular needs.

St. Bartholomew (St. B's), the school where Elsie completed her student teaching and where she was subsequently hired for her first year job, was a private, Catholic secondary school serving 9^{th}-12^{th} grade, located in a suburban town near Elsie's home. The college preparatory school drew students from several surrounding communities and was application-based, with admission granted based on test scores and other data. Students took general courses in English, Math, Science, and Social Studies, as well as electives such as Studio Art or Chorale. In addition, they were required to take a Religion course every year.

Elsie's cooperating teacher, Mrs. Diamond, had taught at the school for several years, and then left the school to do graduate work and raise her children. She had returned to the school the year before Elsie arrived and taught sophomore and junior English. During student teaching, Elsie worked primarily with two of Mrs. Diamond's junior classes, and to a lesser degree, with a sophomore class. She and Mrs. Diamond had a friendly relationship; Elsie respected her opinion and regularly sought her advice.

In the middle of the summer after student teaching, having applied for teaching positions at a few local suburban public high schools, Elsie was offered a position at St. B's. She immediately accepted the high school English teaching position. The school met her requirements: it was near her home and it was a place she felt comfortable—she generally liked the faculty and the students. She began her first year brimming with ideas about curriculum, pedagogical strategies, and classroom décor.

During her first year as the teacher of record, Elsie taught three sections of junior English and two sections of freshman English. The junior course was an American literature survey course and the freshman course was a slightly less structured course in genre studies. Elsie felt considerable pressure to cover all the content for the junior course, aware that the year ended with a cumulative final on all the material in the textbook. She felt she had more freedom in her freshman classes as the focus was not on specific texts but on different genres and skills. This sense of pressure regarding a final exam about which she had no information had a strong influence on her practice in her first year.

Seymour Sarason (1971) described teaching as "a lonely profession", and there was no question that Elsie was quite "lonely" as a first year teacher. As the last teacher

hired, she was assigned to the least desirable classroom, separate from the rest of the English department. Her room was located in a wing of the building that could be reached only by going down to the basement, passing through a long corridor, and then taking a flight of stairs into the annex that housed only her room and the art room. The rest of the English teachers shared a hallway in a different part of the school, and could easily slip in and out of each other's rooms. By contrast, Elsie was isolated in the annex with the art teacher, with whom she never developed a good relationship, leading her to feel quite self-conscious when she had difficulty with her classes.

In addition, the physical isolation of her classroom had an impact on Elsie's access to mentoring and support. Both Mrs. Diamond, whom Elsie identified as an informal mentor in her first year, and Mr. Brown, the head of the English department, told me in interviews that Elsie's physical location became an obstacle to ongoing mentoring and support. In my interview with Mrs. Diamond, she explained that she thought Elsie had not had access to the quick and informal conversations with colleagues that can be so important for a new teacher as she learns. In addition, Mrs. Diamond explained that, at St. B's, although teachers might be told to reach out and ask questions, in fact people sometimes question teachers' efficacy if they asked too many questions. In addition, as I explain later, there were no formal structures of support in place for new teachers in the year that Elsie was a first year teacher at St. B's. Thus, for Elsie, in contrast to the intense support that Lola experienced at Little Village, the culture of St. B's, coupled with her physical isolation from the rest of the department, meant that she did not reach out for nor did she receive as much help as she might have if her situation had been different.

In April of her first year as a full-time teacher, Elsie was surprised and dismayed when she was called to the principal's office and informed that she would not be offered a contract for a second year. Although Elsie knew she had had her share of difficulties over the course of the year, she had told me only a few weeks earlier that she intended to return to the school in the fall. She explained that she genuinely enjoyed her work and felt attached to the students and school community. However, once she was informed that her contract would not be renewed, Elsie decided to leave teaching at least for the short term. Several months later, after beginning work in educational publishing, Elsie told me she had no intention of returning to the classroom. What happened to Elsie? What might account for her short tenure as a teacher and her loss of enthusiasm for teaching for social justice given that she had entered teaching so certain it was the right path for her?

The Five Discourses of Social Justice: The Interrupted Development of a Teacher for Social Justice

In the sections that follow, I use the framework to examine Elsie's process of learning to teach. I examine how Elsie came to understand teaching as she negotiated the intermediate discourses of her own entering beliefs, of her teacher education program, and of her K-12 school site, as well as the impact of the master educational narrative of accountability on her process of learning to teach. I analyze Elsie's understanding of the five discourses of social justice, including how she enacted her interpretations of the discourses in the classroom, and how these ideas and practices changed over time. I demonstrate that, in Elsie's case, she did not develop internally persuasive discourses—in Bakhtin's sense of interrogated, examined discourses—of social justice, but rather, she embraced one central, but somewhat unexamined, idea about teaching for social justice at

the expense of a more complex and nuanced understanding. I explore what might have accounted for her stalled development as well as her ultimate decision to leave teaching. Just as I did in the last chapter, I present each of the discourses in its own section, and proceed chronologically within each section. I begin with the discourse of relationships, because this was the discourse that ultimately overshadowed other discourses of social justice.

Discourse of Relationships: A Narrowing Focus on the Caring Teacher

Over the two and a half years I followed Elsie, she talked at length about teaching for social justice, and at different times referred to social justice in terms of exposing students to multiple perspectives, advocating for students, and making a difference by "teaching the hate out of society" (Interview 1). However, a central focus for Elsie was always her relationships with students. Elsie's entering discourse of relationships, as she indicated in early interviews with me, was inspired by some of her own best teachers and included caring for students, promoting their academic, social, and emotional well being, and creating a respectful classroom culture. Yet, as her isolation increased at St. B's—both her physical isolation and the lack of mentoring and guidance she experienced—Elsie reinterpreted the discourse of relationships and, in turn, her general ideology of teaching for social justice, almost entirely in terms of the quality of her personal relationships with students. In fact, she came to depend on these relationships as the only affirmation that she had done a good job. Thus, Elsie's interpretation of the discourse of relationships, rather than becoming more complex and nuanced, narrowed considerably. By the time she left teaching, she no longer understood relationships with students in terms of promoting their academic success or creating a positive classroom culture.

Rather, by the time Elsie was finishing her first year, she understood teaching for social justice almost strictly in terms of her role as a caring presence in students' lives.

Although Elsie's focus on relationships became more pronounced, overshadowing other ideas of social justice over time, it is also important to note that her own experiences as a student led her to privilege a discourse of relationships even in her early understanding of social justice. In interviews, Elsie often referred to two of her own high school teachers and the important role they had played in her life. In an assignment for one of her teacher education courses, she described the difference these two teachers made for her. She explained:

> Mrs. H was a rather strict disciplinarian. However, she also cared deeply about every student in her class, as anyone could see. I visited with Mrs. H after school, as did students from all of her other classes. Somehow she remained easy to talk to while at the same time assuming a palpable air of authority. We respected her and we liked her. Finally, senior year Mrs. A…taught my AP English Language and Literature course. Junior year I had struggled with [a medical condition], at that time undiagnosed, so that my grades had slipped much lower than usual. Mrs. A kept me on the ball and alert, reminding me of college application deadlines, writing one of my recommendations, and just taking an interest in my life in general. If it weren't for Mrs. A, I wonder if my inattention to my own life would have left me with far fewer choices when it came time to choosing a college. (Autobiography, 11/25/05)

As this excerpt indicates, Elsie's image of a model teacher was one who supported students and showed interest in them outside of class time. In fact, Elsie attributed her

desire to be a teacher to these teachers' influence. She believed that her teachers' personal support and guidance made a difference for her in high school and she imagined that she too could make a difference by providing the same kind of individual support to her students.

However, in Elsie's early description of caring teachers, the teachers' personal interest in students also linked to their concern for students' academic success. As Ladson-Billings (1995) described the "ethic of care" in teaching, care refers both to the affective connections teachers make with students as well as their concern for the impact of their work on students' lives and future success. In Elsie's initial interpretation of a discourse of relationships, she recognized this dual goal. The teachers cared for her but they also held her to high standards and encouraged her to achieve.

Yet, over time, Elsie's understanding of the caring teacher narrowed, excluding much of the academic focus that one can see in these early comments. In fact, as Elsie struggled in her first year teaching, her belief in the importance of caring for students led to confusion over how she could hold them to reasonable expectations while also showing them the kind of personal support she aspired to provide. In this way, Elsie's evolving discourse of relationships came into conflict with other discourses, such as her interpretation of a discourse of expectations, and forced her to question how to achieve her goals as a teacher for social justice. In an interview in the fall of her first year teaching, she expressed frustration as she tried to teach for social justice and also hold her students to deadlines. She explained that she found it hard to reconcile her belief in caring for students with the realities of teaching. When asked how she was doing with teaching for social justice, she replied:

> I find it really hard, I'm trying to be understanding with the kids and they tell me one thing, and I'm trying to give them some flexibility if they say, "You know, I really have just been having trouble getting this paper written." But at the same time, if I don't have due dates for the papers and I don't take off points, some of them just won't turn them in until the last minute, the end of the quarter, even though I'll tell them every day, "You need to get this paper in." So I have to, to a certain extent, put limits. But that's really hard for some kids…it's hard. I guess that's what it comes down to, I'm trying, but it's hard. (Interview 7)

Elsie offered this response when asked about teaching for social justice, indicating that she was torn between her belief in caring for students and holding them to certain expectations regarding their work. Whereas Elsie had not described the goal of caring for students as in conflict with the goal of promoting academic success when she had described her own teachers, once she found herself in the teacher's role, she struggled to negotiate the tension between these goals, seeing them in some ways as insurmountable.

Interestingly, Elsie's struggle to balance her belief in caring for students with trying to hold them accountable may have been, in part, her attempt to connect her classroom teaching to one of the important discourses of her teacher education coursework to teaching. When I interviewed Elsie's methods instructor, Dr. Manfred, she explained that she believed that her student teachers needed to learn to be flexible and that sometimes she herself would "cut them a break" with regard to assignment deadlines. In fact, Elsie did not complete the final assignment for the English methods course on time and Dr. Manfred allowed her to finish it over the holiday break. Thus, Elsie may have applied Dr. Manfred's own approach to flexibility with students to her developing

discourse of relationships in a way that in fact contradicted Dr. Manfred's own intentions. In other words, Dr. Manfred did not suggest in her interview that deadlines and expectations were in conflict with teaching for social justice, but rather that sometimes teachers had to respect students' needs and show some flexibility. Yet, Elsie seemed to misunderstand Dr. Manfred's intentions when she questioned how she could hold students to deadlines when she was trying to teach for social justice.

Elsie's confusion here reflects what Feiman-Nemser and Buchman (1989) found in their research on teacher candidates. Their research indicated that teacher education students sometimes combined past experiences with ideas encountered in teacher preparation such that the ideas they encountered reinforced earlier beliefs, even when this corrupted the intended message of the professor, course, or text. In expressing the perceived tension between teaching for social justice and holding students to deadlines, Elsie seemed to do this, misinterpreting Dr. Manfred's idea of flexibility to fit with her own latent understandings of the caring teacher from her experiences in school herself. Without support from colleagues at St. B's to manage the confusion she experienced between caring for students and holding them responsible, Elsie struggled to make sense of a discourse of relationships as it related to other ideas about social justice. Ultimately, faced with this tension, Elsie chose to interpret teaching for social justice through the lens of her understanding of "caring" for students over the goal of high standards. I discuss this in greater detail in the discourse of expectations section of the chapter.

In addition to her interest in supporting individual students, whether socially or academically, Elsie's early interpretation of the discourse of relationships also included a focus on promoting a caring and safe classroom environment. Yet, just as Elsie's

understanding of what it meant to nurture individual relationships with students shifted over time, so too did her attention to promoting a caring classroom environment.

In early interviews, Elsie spoke about creating a safe and respectful learning environment, perhaps inspired by her own social difficulties in school. In several assignments for teacher education as well as in our interviews, she referred to her social troubles as a student, and the negative impact those struggles had on her. In her assignments, she used the words "cruel", "traumatizing", and "alienating" to describe her experiences and emotions associated with her own schooling. Thus, she expressed the hope that her students' experiences would not mirror her own negative ones and wanted to create a classroom environment that would prevent students from feeling the way she had.

This concern for the classroom culture was clear in her descriptions of what she observed in her pre-practicum experience at Marland. She described how, in one of the classes she observed, a student with Asperger's Syndrome was often mocked or criticized by fellow students. Elsie attributed this in part to the teacher admitting to Elsie that the student frustrated her. Elsie believed this came across to the other students and made class less safe for the boy with Asperger's. She imagined that, as a teacher, she would work hard to ensure that no student felt alienated or criticized in her class.

Similarly, in talking about her student teaching classroom at St. B's, Elsie explained that she was more concerned with the classroom culture than Mrs. Diamond seemed to be. She explained:

> I think I worry a little more when kids say something that to me seems racist, or something, than she does. Not because she doesn't care and doesn't see the

problem, but because she's not sure there's much you can do about it. (Interview 4)

Elsie believed that part of teaching for social justice was meeting the emotional and social needs of her students. As evidenced by her attention to the boy with Asperger's as well as her concern for the classroom culture in her student teaching at St. B's, Elsie wanted to create a classroom environment that respected all her students, even if this was sometimes challenging.

The excerpt above about the racism she observed in her student teaching classroom also demonstrates the overlap in her constructions of a discourse of relationships and a discourse of race and equity—for Elsie, the lens through which she saw the discourse of race and equity was, in part, driven by her concern and care for students and her desire to create a safe environment for them. She felt it was her responsibility as a teacher to promote a culture of respect and empathy among her students. Thus, part of Elsie's understanding of the discourse of relationships, when she began student teaching, was related to creating a classroom environment that respected difference, a central tenet of her discourse of race, as I describe later in this chapter.

Despite her strong commitment to relationships and a positive classroom culture, in Elsie's early discussions, she seemed to seek balance between building a friendly classroom environment and focusing on learning. While she certainly believed that it was important to build strong relationships with students, she also expressed some concern about establishing a balance between "rapport" and learning. In the fall of her teacher education year, when she spent one day a week at Marland High School, she was critical of one of the teachers she observed because he seemed to depend too much on his

"rapport" with students at the expense of their academic learning. She explained that, while she recognized the importance of developing a welcoming classroom culture, she wondered on some days "what they'd accomplished" because she thought he focused more on the "banter" than on their learning (Interview 2).

Yet, as Elsie struggled with her own teaching, during both student teaching and the first year, she often fell victim to the same tension between building "rapport" with students and accomplishing learning goals. As a result, the culture of her classroom did not reflect the safe and respectful environment she had imagined. In Elsie's student teaching class, she often gave in to just the kind of "banter" she had criticized in her observation of the teacher above. For example, in her introductory lessons for the novel *The Bean Trees*, Elsie had the students work in groups to brainstorm what they thought of when they heard the word freedom. Several of the resulting "word webs" raised interesting ideas but the discussion that followed did not allow for substantive conversation. In fact, there were many missed opportunities to explore ideas or make connections to the text, and a mocking or playful tone characterized the group discussion. Whereas Elsie did not necessarily engage in their mockery, she also did not she stop it—she approached their responses with a bit of playfulness herself. For example, one of the groups talked about "going commando" and Elsie pursued this comment even though she also demonstrated that she knew what it meant:

> Elsie [reading from one of the group's word webs]: "Free love, freedom of speech, individuality, How does that relate to what we've been studying?"
>
> Student 1: "Transcendentalism."

Elsie: "Good. Hmm. [reading from the word web] Commando." [She smiles] "I am not going to go into that one."

Student 2 [one of the boys in the group]: "Why not?"

Elsie: "Does anyone what to explain it?"

Student 2: "Going without undergarments."

Elsie: "OK, thank you." (Field Notes, 3/29/06)

In this class session, Elsie did not probe ideas like freedom of speech or individuality but paused at the one word that the students included as a mocking, inappropriate response to the assignment. Thus an activity that might have prompted substantive conversation, and a culture of shared discussion and inquiry, did not do so.

In general, in Elsie's student teaching she demonstrated the desire to engage students in conversation with each other and with her, but her dynamic with some students in the class, particularly the more rowdy boys, also created a casual culture that seemed to both compromise her authority and mock the seriousness of the discussion. As this excerpt suggests, Elsie tended to choose the path of least resistance with students, allowing them to guide her toward less intellectual and academic discussion in a compromise for more cooperation. This reflects research on teacher socialization that suggests that students have a powerful influence on teachers' practices, sometimes leading to a kind of Faustian bargain between teachers and students. In other words, teachers choose not to challenge students in exchange for a calm and orderly classroom (Kennedy, 2006; McQuillan, 1998; Metz, 1990). In Elsie's case, in part because she wanted to have a cooperative and friendly dynamic with her students and in part because of the resistance she encountered from them to more intellectual discussion, as I describe

in detail in the practice section of this chapter, she tended to sacrifice learning in favor of "banter" and "rapport."

In fact, in the middle of her student teaching year, Elsie referred to how her dynamic with the students had improved. She explained:

> But they're getting better, even some of the kids that used to give me a really, really hard time, and they basically used to hate me, and now they kind of like me, or they're used to me at least…they know that I'm not out there just to punch them…that I'm a nice person—I hope that it's my personality to a certain extent." (Interview 4)

In this excerpt, Elsie seemed to consider her improved relationships with her students in terms of their moving from "hating" her to seeing her as "a nice person", rather than perceiving her success in terms of the students coming to recognize her as an effective teacher or someone from whom they could learn. Elsie consistently struggled to balance her desire for good relationships and a friendly classroom environment, on one hand, with teaching the content and maintaining expectations, on the other.

Why did Elsie's discourse of relationships narrow so much over time, from one that promoted a range of goals for students to one that focused almost solely on her friendly interactions with students? In their study of new teachers who did not succeed in teaching, Schmidt and Knowles (1995) identified several personal factors that interfered with the teachers' success. In particular, they described how the novice teachers' experiences as socially awkward or shy students themselves interfered with their comfort taking on the teacher role, particularly having a position of authority or managing a classroom. In Elsie's case, as I describe, she often referred to her difficulties as a student

herself. Further complicating matters for her, she was close in age to her students and they were similar in background to herself and her peers growing up. These personal factors may have contributed to the challenges she faced in the classroom as she attempted to negotiate a discourse of relationships that allowed her to move beyond friend and peer to embrace a discourse of relationships that included creating supports for academic learning.

The problem was not all Elsie, however, or her own interest in building relationships with students. Rather, Elsie's increasing focus on a narrowly defined discourse of relationships at the expense of other important ideas about social justice was very likely a result of the school context and her own isolation. As I explain above, due to her placement in a separate wing of the building, she did not have daily access to the kind of feedback and support from other teachers that might have helped her set clearer boundaries with students. Instead, as she felt increasingly alienated from the rest of the faculty and continued to struggle with discipline issues, mostly on her own, she seemed to look to her students for affirmation that she was doing a good job. Absent the consistent and critical feedback that Lola experienced in her first year, Elsie depended on her affective relationships with her students: their acceptance of her was critical to her own sense of success as a teacher.

Elsie's focus on her relationships with students, and her desire for their approval, only became stronger when she learned that the school was not going to have her back for the following year. In fact, her positive relationships with students became a source of great pride for her, in the face of the rejection she felt by the school. She described herself as:

> The teacher that for the most part a lot of the kids, a lot of the problematic kids really loved…I'm one of the few people at the school that the kids would talk to. And other people definitely noticed that…I'm the one that always goes to the dances. I know the kids in my class that I yell at the most and drive me the most insane also love me for some reason (Interview 9).

Yet, in this interview, Elsie also felt indignation about her position as the beloved teachers. She explained how, at the end of the school year, the principal had called Elsie to the office to ask her about a fight that had occurred among some students off campus. Elsie told me that she found it ironic that the principal would turn to Elsie because she knew Elsie's relationships with students gave her access to information the principal wanted, and yet, at the same time, chose not to keep her on staff.

For Elsie, the relationships she forged with students gratified and sustained her, perhaps in part as a reaction to her own frustrations with the school leadership. However the discourse of relationships that Elsie developed—in which her affective connections to students were paramount—was also a critical part of her understanding of teaching for social justice. In fact, perhaps because other parts of her experience had been so unsatisfactory, she came to rely on these relationships as evidence of her success.

At the end of the year, as Elsie contemplated how she understood teaching for social justice, she connected her discourse of relationships to her Christian beliefs. She explained that, at the heart of her understanding of social justice, was her own entering discourse of Christianity, which she interpreted as showing "Christ's love" to her students. She explained:

> Instead of calling it social justice I think of it as loving the kids and showing Christ's love to them. So that means fulfilling their needs on a whole lot of different levels, making sure that the kid who feels completely isolated in the class and may not have many friends or may not be considered a good student feels worthwhile. Making sure that kids who are having a lot of trouble outside of school are getting support from some adult somewhere. And sometimes that can be me when it can't be the guidance counselors. (Interview 9)

Throughout this interview at the end of the school year, Elsie's discussion of teaching for social justice centered on the relationships she built with students and her capacity to show them the kind of love and care that she had appreciated in her own teachers. Yet, this emphasis on care had devolved from one that focused on academic goals as well as social ones, to one that emphasized personal relationships with students not linked to their intellectual development or their academic success. In fact, she acknowledged that she tended to favor showing care for her students over holding them accountable, and imagined that if she could find a better balance between these goals, she would be a better teacher. However, after this interview, she decided not to seek another teaching position and therefore did not have the opportunity to explore the balance she imagined might be possible.

Interestingly, in an interview I conducted with Elsie after she left teaching, she reflected on her difficulty at St. B's and attributed some of it to her desire to be liked by everyone. Looking back, she thought this interfered with disciplining students, which she had come to see as a significant part of the job of the teacher. In addition, she explained that she thought her concern for students' lives outside of school was an impediment

rather than a strength, even though this was critical to her initial choice to pursue teaching. Thus, after leaving St. B's, Elsie seemed to reject teaching for one of the very reasons she had embraced it—the opportunity to be a caring and supportive adult in students' lives. Rather, she believed that, outside of teaching, she could continue to play this role—she seemed to embrace the goal of building relationships as an internally persuasive discourse of social justice, but not one that she imagined she could realize in the role of teacher.

Although a discourse of relationships became the central focus of Elsie's emerging ideology of social justice, and in some ways became justification for not attending to other ideas related to social justice, she did encounter and explore other discourses of social justice throughout her process of learning to teach. These discourses, as I describe, never became internally persuasive for Elsie, as they did with Lola, in part because Elsie did not have the same opportunities to work through the tensions she encountered putting various discourses of social justice into practice. However, examining her initial struggle and ultimate rejection of these other discourses helps illustrate the contrast between Lola's successful ideological development and Elsie's own interrupted process, and suggests what might have contributed to their very different outcomes.

Discourse of Expectations: Giving in, Getting Less

In the previous chapter, I described how Lola saw high expectations as a central goal of teaching for social justice. By contrast, Elsie did not put the discourse of expectations at the center of her social justice beliefs. Rather, while she did struggle to determine appropriate expectations, she ultimately became convinced that she had

entered teaching with unrealistic expectations about what students could do. Therefore, surrounded by an intermediate discourse at St. B's that did not support the high expectations that Elsie brought to teaching, and to accommodate her own challenges as a new teacher, Elsie lowered her expectations of her students.

As I describe in the previous section, Elsie entered teaching with a strong sense of the role her own teachers had played in supporting and encouraging her, and she in turn made this a central goal of her teaching. Therefore, even in Elsie's earliest interview, she interpreted the discourse of expectations in part through the lens of relationships with students. Specifically, she explained that teachers had to gauge their expectations to match the students they encountered rather than imposing their own goals on students. She asserted:

> I think it's important for a teacher to understand where a student's coming from…then be able to work with that student toward goals that the student comes up with to a certain extent. Pushing them to make, set higher goals for themselves, but at the same time not pushing them in a course that seems right to the teacher but is probably not what the student is looking forward to...so not automatically assuming that every kid needs to go to college if that's just not what they want to do or probably are going to do. (Interview 1)

This excerpt is particularly interesting for several reasons. First, from the beginning of Elsie's process of learning to teach, her belief in the importance of getting to know her students seemed to define her understanding of other discourses related to social justice. In other words, Elsie's ideas about expectations seemed to focus on her goal of getting to know the students and their particular needs, and then matching her expectations to the

students, rather than coming to the classroom with a set of standard expectations for all students.

In addition, Elsie suggested that teachers ought to be sensitive to students' goals and not push them in directions to which they were not suited. This was quite different from Lola's discourse of expectations and may suggest that an ideology of social justice is strongly influenced by the specific group of students with whom a teacher works. In a study of teacher education programs that focused on social justice, McDonald (2005) found that teacher candidates' field experiences mediated their opportunities to learn. In other words, regardless of the ideas presented in the teacher education program, the contexts of the candidates' field placement influenced the teachers' interpretations of these ideas and their ability to apply them to real situations. Therefore, even Elsie's early interpretation of a discourse of expectations may have been strongly influenced by the students she intended to teach. Whereas Lola taught in communities where only a small percentage of students historically attended college, Elsie expected to work in schools with primarily White, college-bound students. Therefore, Elsie may not have seen it as necessary to provide the extra push that Lola believed was so critical. In fact, Elsie may have imagined that she could do more good for her students by providing them with a break from the pressure she imagined some of them might be under to succeed academically and move on to college.

Whatever Elsie's entering ideas about expectations, the intermediate discourse of expectations in Elsie's teacher education program focused on high expectations for all. Elsie's English methods instructor, Dr. Manfred, explained in an interview with me that she was adamant in her courses about "high expectations for all" and "never dumbing

down the standards." Yet, in my interview with Dr. Manfred, she also indicated that she saw the discourse of expectations as in fact more challenging and tension-filled than implied by the idea of "high expectations for all." She commented that one had to "accept that some kids will never reach those standards." This tension, although discussed in the interview with me, may not have come through in her methods course. Instead, it is possible that Dr. Manfred's conviction about "high expectations" was something Elsie took away from the course, without grasping the tension Dr. Manfred articulated in the interview. Thus it might be reasonable to assume that the intermediate discourse of expectations that Elsie encountered in teacher education promoted a somewhat general idea about meeting students' needs and having high standards, without explicitly conveying the tensions and challenges that these goals imply. This lack of complexity seemed to contribute, in some part, to the unraveling of Elsie's discourse of high expectations at St. B's.

From the beginning of Elsie's time at St. B's, she struggled to come to terms with the school's discourse of expectations. Her initial impression of St. B's was that it was not a terribly rigorous academic environment. This was challenging initially for Elsie because, although her understanding of the discourse of expectations was somewhat unformed when she began student teaching, she had a general belief in high standards and intellectual engagement. Having been a strong student herself, and having just graduated from a very prestigious college, the lack of academic rigor that she observed at St. B's surprised her. Whereas she wanted to work with her students on ideas like mood, theme, and symbolism—the types of concepts covered in her English methods course—she found that her students did not understand the basic plot of even fairly

straightforward texts. She explained that she had not realized how much she was going to have to teach them simply "to understand the most literal level of a text" (Interview 3). She added that many of the students simply did not do the work assigned and she did not know how to handle this. These difficulties influenced her interpretation of expectations and chipped away at some of the goals she had brought to teaching.

Elsie was relieved to discover, when she attended a content mentoring session provided by her teacher education program, that other student teachers also struggled with students who simply would not do the work. She explained:

> Most people I talked to, they [said], "I hardly ever assign anything to read at home because they won't do it", which to me, I, it's just not what I saw in high school. It's not what I--granted, I was in honors classes, but I think that my friends were doing the reading at home as well--who knows what everybody else was doing? So people are having trouble getting them to read. They're having trouble just helping them to understand the text. At least, that was good last night to get that, 'cause at least I'm not the only one, and I was like, am I just doing something totally wrong, or are my kids just, is the school just having real issues? But it seems that it's a pretty widespread problem through public and private schools. (Interview 3)

As this excerpt indicates, Elsie was relieved to know that she was not alone. However, it is also important to note that she did not talk about how she was going to handle this situation and encourage students to do the work, or what resources she might use to change the situation. Instead, she attributed her difficulty in part to the fact that her students were not "honors" students and therefore, due to her lack of familiarity with

their academic level, she had entered with inappropriately high expectations. Furthermore, she seemed to reason that, since this was a problem many teachers faced, it might not be something she could be expected to resolve.

In fact, rather than learning to structure activities and assignments such that all her students met her high expectations, Elsie's teaching and examples of assignments from her classes indicated that she responded to what she encountered at St. B's by lowering the expectations such that all could achieve the lowered goal. For example, toward the end of student teaching, Elsie described a student who was mostly absent—sometimes physically, but always mentally—from class. She believed it was her job as a teacher to keep him engaged in class and push him to complete the coursework. Elsie described her success with this student in that he did eventually catch up on assignments and took the test that he had missed. She was pleased that he seemed to be engaged again in school and saw this, in part, as a response to her own effort to reach out to him. However, she also acknowledged that he probably had cheated on the test she finally got him to make up. She explained:

> He made up the test, did really well on it, probably he looked at someone else's and went over the answers beforehand. But the fact is that he's been really anxious that I know he did well on that test, which is interesting. I'm not quite sure what to make of it yet, usually he just doesn't care. So it's just interesting that he cared enough to bother…the thing is obviously he could do the work because when he, when you looked at it, granted, he was reading from someone else's test, but he still had to remember all the information….we just found it interesting that he cares enough to cheat 'cause he hasn't in the past. (Interview 4)

In this excerpt, Elsie referred to this student as an example of a kind of success in that she was able to reengage a student in class despite the fact that she was fairly certain he cheated on the test. This example suggests that Elsie was less concerned with the quality of her students' work or their learning than she was that they, in a general way, stayed engaged and completed assignments. This indicated a strong shift away from her intention, when she first entered teacher education, to engage students in critical thinking and encourage students to have questioning minds (Interview 1). Instead, she had lowered her expectations so much so that she was satisfied that a student simply exhibited a general willingness to complete the assignment, whatever the quality or integrity of that work. This also suggests Elsie's increasing focus on her relationships with students as the primary indicator of her success as a teacher.

At the end of student teaching, Elsie's final assignment for students indicated that while she did attempt to assign them work that required higher order thinking, she did not have high expectations for what they would produce. The test on Barbara Kingsolver's *The Bean Trees* included several short answer questions that required analysis and synthesis of main ideas, and the essay required students to select an important symbol from the text and describe its significance. Although this appeared to be a reasonable way to assess the quality of students' learning, Elsie's evaluation of their effort and her discussion of what she expected indicated how much she had lowered her expectations. For example, as we discussed the assignment and how she had evaluated it, she explained that for one of the questions that she expected the students to be able to answer, only a handful of students got it right. As a result, she changed it to a bonus question and did not count it wrong for the rest of the students.

Elsie's choice is particularly striking in comparison to Lola's reaction to her students' poor performance on assessments. Whereas Elsie chose to modify the evaluation so as not to hold herself or her students accountable for what they could not, or did not do, Lola responded to students' poor performance on a test by seeking additional resources to teach the material in a new way, and then retested the whole class. Lola's goal seemed to be to ensure that all students eventually came to understand the material, while Elsie believed that once the test was graded, she moved on, whether or not the students actually had learned the material or any new skills.

Furthermore, Elsie explained that she chose to give the bonus points because her students simply were not accustomed to the kind of thinking she asked them to do on the test. She believed they did not know how to respond to a question that asked them to explain significance rather than simply retell the plot. She explained that getting them to change their "mindset" would be difficult. It is important to note that, in conversation with me, she did say that she was not sure that giving bonus points was the right choice. However, she explained that she would not go back and "undo it because they all did well" (Interview 5). Her conversation with me suggests that, given the opportunity to reflect, an opportunity she had when she was interviewed for this study (and this may have been one of her only opportunities to do so), she did think critically about her expectations and her choices. However, without the ongoing support to reflect on her work, and in the context of an environment that did not encourage teachers to hold high expectations for students' intellectual engagement, Elsie gave into the discourse of expectations she encountered at St. B's.

Although Elsie did not seem to take a critical stance toward these changed expectations, it was also clear from her comments to me at the end of student teaching that she struggled to retain some general commitment to high expectation while at the same time she sought to justify her own lowered expectations. She responded to my question about maintaining high expectations in the following way:

> Well, I really do think that they were too high. I had spent four and a half years, because I had already spent a half a year here (at Hill), in college. And I had always been in honors classes when I was in school. So I think my expectations were a little beyond what they had been taught and what they were capable of. And so in that sense, when you say lower, when you say, 'did you maintain high expectations?' that implies that you should, that it's always bad to put the bar down a little bit. But if you're dealing with someone who's two feet tall, and you put the bar 20 feet up, [it's] not going to happen. So what I did, what I had to do was assess where they were and set high expectations for where they would get to at the next point. (Interview 5)

Elsie's response here illustrates how she attempted to make sense of her own shifted expectations, and suggests the tension she experienced between her entering discourse of expectations, the teacher education program discourse, and the discourse of expectations she encountered at St. B's. Instead of stating that she had, indeed, lowered her expectations, she argued that "putting the bar down" was justified in light of the students she taught. This strong reaction to my question may have also been a reaction to her own sense that she was not achieving the goal of high expectations that her teacher education

program discourse promoted. Perhaps Elsie felt the need to justify her own modified goals because she felt that she was not, at some level, meeting this goal.

In Elsie's first year as a teacher of record at St. B's, with 5 classes to manage and all the additional pressures of being a new teacher, her expectations of students continued to slip. Whereas she had imagined when she entered teacher education that she would be a teacher who promoted critical thinking, she seemed to approach her first year of teaching focused on a very basic level of academic learning. She was not so concerned that students deeply understand the material but rather, she wanted them only to do the work, whatever the quality. As I demonstrate in the next section, she increasingly leaned on transmission approaches to instruction, and geared her assessments to these types of instruction. For example, when Elsie taught Puritan period American literature, she reviewed the "four characteristics" of Puritan era literature for several weeks, applying these characteristics to everything the students read. The major assessment for this unit then required students to apply these characteristics to one of the same texts they had discussed in class. Students did well on the test if they were able to regurgitate the information she had reviewed many times. The assessment did not require any critical or independent thinking—really it only assessed whether students could memorize what she told them in class.

What accounts for Elsie's lowered expectations of her students over time? First, the intermediate discourse of expectations she encountered at St. B's, as Elsie herself recognized when she began student teaching, did not seem to make high academic standards the central focus. Rather, St. B's tended to emphasize other goals, associated with its position as a religious school, including its attention to the moral learning of their

students, and the close-knit community the school hoped to foster. For example, in my interview with Mr. Brown, the head of the English Department, he described the school as a very "family-oriented" school, explaining that parents chose the school perhaps more for the sense of "morality" and "spirituality and safety" than because of the academics. Thus, the school seemed to emphasize spiritual and moral culture over academic goals. This may have been a way to set the school apart from the strong area public high schools that the students would otherwise have attended, like the public high school Elsie herself had attended.

As I described in the previous chapter, teacher education can be a disconfirming experience (Olsen, 2008) when the messages of the program contradict beliefs that teachers bring to teacher education or encounter in their K-12 school sites. For Elsie, the discourses at St. B's were far removed from the discourses of social justice that she encountered in her teacher education program, and yet the St. B's discourses were much more influential because she was so removed from her teacher education program supports. Having chosen to work at a school with no relationship to the program, without any fellow student teachers in the school, and with minimal contact with a supervisor, it is not surprising that Elsie leaned toward the discourse of expectations she found at St. B's, and rejected ideas from teacher education that contradicted the discourse of expectations of her K-12 school. Thus Elsie entered her first year of teaching with a revised discourse of expectations—she had lowered her expectations to match the discourse of expectations that pervaded St. B's.

More specific to Elsie's process of learning to teach, her relationship with her cooperating teacher, Mrs. Diamond, had a significant influence on her ideas about

teaching and her expectations of students. Mrs. Diamond conveyed very clearly to Elsie the discourse of expectations that was dominant at the school. In fact, Mrs. Diamond believed that Elsie's expectations of students were unrealistic and attributed this both to her experience at an elite college and to the failings of her teacher education program to adequately prepare her for the realities of teaching. In describing Elsie's process of learning to teach, Mrs. Diamond explained:

> I think her expectations were too high. And I think that's a jump that most people have to make. They're coming out of a college or graduate school environment, and often are very successful students. And then they come to the high school, and expectations are higher than where the kids are really at. And I think there's an adjustment period there. I guess that she expected more from them than they were able to [produce] at that time. And I think that's an adjustment most people have to make.

This comment suggests the power that Mrs. Diamond had on Elsie's developing discourse of expectations. Here Mrs. Diamond's assessment of Elsie's overly high expectations mirrors comments Elsie made as she equivocated about her own shifted expectations. One might assume that Elsie's belief that she had come with unrealistic expectations and had to adjust them was strongly influenced by Mrs. Diamond. In fact, Elsie's comments about expectations, as well as the practices I describe in the next section, indicate that she came to accept it as truth that her expectations had been too high.

During her teacher education program, Elsie had been exposed to a discourse of high expectations. However, without access to ongoing discussion about these issues and

without help in dealing with the challenges she faced retaining these goals in the context of St. B's, Elsie was persuaded that the discourse of expectations at St. B's was more viable. In fact, as the influence of Elsie's own schooling and her teacher education coursework receded, Elsie seemed to embrace thoroughly a discourse of "adjusted" expectations. As I describe in the section that follows, Elsie's teaching practice also reflected this overall shift in expectations as she moved from interactive and creative assignments to a transmission approach to teaching. This too was powerfully influenced by the intermediate discourse at St. B's, in general, and specifically, Mrs. Diamond's impact on Elsie's ongoing process of learning to teach.

The Discourse of Practice: From "Two-Way Process" to Transmission Teaching

A discourse of practice may include to all kinds of teaching practices from traditional, transmission approaches to innovative or constructivist teaching, and refers to ideas and practices related to building skills, promoting critical thinking, and managing a classroom. As alluded to above, Elsie's struggle with appropriate expectations was mirrored by a significant shift in her teaching practice over time. Over the two years I interviewed and observed Elsie and collected samples of her assignments and her students' work, there was a notable shift in classroom practices and assignments. Whereas her early efforts could be characterized as student-centered and interactive, over time her practice became mostly teacher-centered and transmission-focused. Again, the influence of St. B's discourses played a significant role in Elsie's move away from constructivist practices and toward more traditional teaching.

In my very first interview with Elsie, she described the kind of classes she had enjoyed most as a student, in which teachers led discussions and planned interactive

projects. In addition, during Elsie's first semester in the teacher education program, before she began working at St. B's, she was enthusiastic about the constructivist-oriented teaching encouraged in the teacher education coursework. In fact, Elsie described how some of her classmates were critical of one of her professor's suggestions that they employ interactive activities. She explained that her classmates had argued that, although interactive strategies might "look good on paper", they were not realistic. Elsie thought that this reaction was unfounded. Instead, she believed that her peers were skeptical because they had not tried these ideas. She explained:

> Elsie All these people say that this sounds great on paper, but when you actually have to put it into practice, then it's like, well--. I think that's largely their own bias…in what they've experienced, but they have no [experience], with other kinds of lessons.
>
> Interviewer So what kinds of things are they nay-saying?
>
> Elsie A lot of things about group work and interaction between teacher and class and not doing just straight lecture all the time. So a lot of more progressive or newer techniques for teaching, they really pan and say, well, that won't work in the classroom. (Interview 2)

Early in the process of learning to teach, Elsie was eager to use interactive strategies, explaining that she believed teaching had to be a "two-way process" in which the students were actively engaged in learning. However, over the course of her time at St. B's, Elsie's interpretation of a discourse of practice dramatically changed.

The change in Elsie's perspectives and practice took place over time and were largely a result of her socialization into the dominant discourse of practice at the school.

Specifically, St. B's discourse of practice was fundamentally linked to the master narrative of accountability even though, as a private school, students were not required to take the state exams. However, unlike many of the schools where Lola worked, in which the discourse of accountability was instantiated in the schools' focus on the standardized assessments that public school children must take, at St. B's, the master narrative of accountability was represented in ideas about what counted as knowledge and how it was conveyed. Just as Apple (2006) suggested that the discourse of accountability assumes that the goal of education is to "fill students" with necessary knowledge, the dominant discourse of practice at St. B's operated from a fundamental assumption that knowledge was neutral, and transmitted from student to teacher. This perspective on what counted as knowledge and how teachers ought to convey that knowledge pervaded the school. Over the course of two years of observations at the school, as I walked through the halls, I noted that all the classrooms were organized in a column-row arrangement. In room after room, students sat at desks and teachers lectured from the front of the room. As a result, neither students nor teachers, nor ultimately Elsie herself, were comfortable with interactive teaching approaches.

During student teaching, Elsie did in fact attempt many of the constructivist and interactive approaches she was learning in teacher education. However, her students' response to her efforts was discouraging. Drawing on ideas from her methods course, she made use of group work and alternative assessments. For example, Elsie organized small groups to study the transcendentalists and present posters that included historical information, writing samples, and images that represented ideas of the period. This strategy adhered to a vision of learning that was student-centered in that students worked

together to gather information, decide what was salient, and determine how to convey the information to peers. However, the presentations of these posters were lackluster; generally one or two students spoke from each group while the others stood at the front of the room, some smirking at classmates, others appearing disengaged. When Elsie asked follow up questions, the responses from the few students who paid attention were generally short and unenthusiastic. Students did not seem to take it seriously and even at times mocked Elsie. Below is an excerpt from field notes:

> Elsie: "Can you listen up for a minute please? I am going to sit in back and you'll give your presentations. Make sure you hit the points on the assignment and I will take notes. You should listen attentively. This is important information. Any questions? [pause] Nope? OK, I guess we're ready to start. It should be under ten minutes."
>
> [Kids laugh at this comment and several make statements, more to each other than to Elsie, like, "no way we'll be that long."] (Field Notes, 3/9/06)

The students' response to Elsie's time limit illustrates their attitude toward the assignment—they expected to do as little as possible to fulfill the basic requirements.

Later in the same class period, Elsie introduced Thoreau's *Walden*. She had assigned an excerpt for homework but it became apparent that few students had read it. Several had not brought their books and did not contribute at all to discussion. The students were most engaged when Elsie asked whether they had ever gone camping, in an attempt to connect *Walden* to their lives. However, when she asked students to make connections back to Thoreau, few could do so because they had not read the text. Below is an excerpt from the field notes:

Elsie: "Could someone read, 'still we live meanly…?'" [A pupil reads a section and Elsie interrupts.]

Elsie: "'Our life is frittered away by detail.' What does that mean?

Pupil #1? You don't know?

Pupil #2, what does it mean?"

Pupil #2: "Details…" [Pupil #2 pauses.] "Uh, I have no idea."

Elsie: "You have no idea…Pupil #3?"

Pupil #3: "Nope." (Field notes, 3/9/06)

This kind of exchange, in which Elsie asked students to respond to an excerpt from the text and faced resistance to discussion, was common during her student teaching. Students often did not complete work for class, and group work became an opportunity to socialize. In fact, she experienced very little success engaging students in the types of practices promoted in her methods course.

Thus, during student teaching, Elsie found herself engaged in a "battle" (McQuillan, 1998, p. 23) with her students as she attempted to teach in ways that were encouraged in her teacher education coursework, and that accorded with her own ideals. Yet, these ideas did not match the discourse of practice she encountered at St. B's. Rather, the students, who were not accustomed to the kind of teaching Elsie attempted, resisted her—they did not do the reading, they would not engage in thoughtful discussion, and they did not take the group work seriously. However, I do not want to suggest that the students were, in some way, bad kids or uniquely difficult. Rather, they simply were familiar with a particular style of teaching—the discourse of practice that dominated at St. B's—in which teachers generally lectured students and tested them on

the material covered in class. Therefore, as Elsie herself observed, they did not know how to handle her different approach, and resisted it.

In addition, as noted in the opening pages of this chapter, St. B's was not one of Hill University's usual partner schools and Elsie did not have a regular clinical faculty member for a supervisor during her student teaching. Although she explained that the supervisor observed her a few times and did seem focused on classroom culture issues, Elsie did not receive much critical feedback or suggestions about how to effectively manage the kinds of teaching practices she had entered her student teaching hoping to employ.

Thus, over time, and influenced both by this lack of support and by her students' resistance, Elsie came to adopt the teacher-centered, traditional style of teaching that was *de rigueur* at St. B's. In fact, in Elsie's first year, she abandoned many of the activities and alternative assessments she had come to teaching eager to employ, and embraced the discourse of practice that dominated at the school. In particular, Elsie's junior classes reflected very clearly the significant shift that her teaching had taken. Over the course of five observations I conducted during Elsie's first year of teaching, I observed her junior students read aloud from textbooks or Elsie read to them, watched the students take guided notes with the aid of a worksheet, and watch a film. The majority of questions from the students had to do with whether something would be on a test, and the rare discussion engaged just a handful of students. On the rare occasions when she tried to engage the class in discussion, only a few students participated.

Yet it was not her students alone who influenced Elsie's shifted discourse of practice. During Elsie's student teaching year and, despite limited contact in her first

year, Mrs. Diamond played a powerful role in Elsie's changed approach. Mrs. Diamond did not share Elsie's enthusiasm for cooperative learning and did not help Elsie to develop her skills to more effectively conduct these activities. Thus, even though Elsie was eager to employ interactive strategies, she did not always know how to set them up to succeed. Mrs. Diamond offered little help or advice about constructivist teaching and, rather, steered her away from these practices.

When asked about Elsie's struggles, Mrs. Diamond explained that Elsie entered student teaching wanting to employ interactive activities and alternative assessments, which Mrs. Diamond believed had limited success. She explained that she did not think teacher education taught candidates how to teach "the basics":

> I…think the schools [of education] emphasize a lot of alternative ways of studying, group work in particular. But that [does not always] lend itself to class…They're talking in the group…they don't do much of that here…If you're already struggling with the class not really listening and participating, and then you put them in groups, it's hard to monitor that.

As described above, students at St. B's were not accustomed to these activities. In addition, Mrs. Diamond's comment made explicit that the faculty neither valued nor encouraged these activities. In fact when I interviewed Mrs. Diamond after Elsie's first year, she again critiqued pre-service teacher education for its focus on alternative practices:

> I think there's a huge disconnect between graduate schools and what really happens and I think she came in with lovely ideas of how to prepare different lesson plans, a lot of group and a lot of alternate assessment and all of that, but in

> reality the kids start blowing that off…and as much as I think schools of education don't like it, sometimes you just have to read the book and give them a test on it and she was very, very reluctant last year and even the first half of this year to give tests…if you give them some kind of soft assessment, then the next time they won't read [the book]…they didn't take her seriously enough because of some of the assessments…I'm not so sure that the people in grad school understand how you have to teach literature.

In the excerpt above, not only did Mrs. Diamond disparage interactive activities, she also questioned whether alternative assignments could provide adequate measures of students' learning. Mrs. Diamond's dichotomizing tests as "hard" data and alternative assessments as "soft" indicates the value she assigned to project work and creative assessments, in contrast to the value placed on this kind of work in Elsie's teacher education program.

Similar to the tension Elsie encountered between the discourse of high expectations in the teacher education program and the discourse of "adjusted" expectations at St. B's, here Elsie faced the tension between a discourse of practice that focused on alternative assessments and one that focused on "hard" data. These different discourses of practice also suggest somewhat different responses to the master narrative of accountability. As the framework suggests, teacher education program discourses sometimes function as reactions against the master narratives in education. As indicated by her program's encouragement of constructivist practices and alternative assessments, Elsie's teacher education program discourse of practice seemed to reject the assumption that there is a core set of neutral knowledge for teachers to transmit and test students on. By contrast, Mrs. Diamond seemed to embrace the idea, taken for granted in the master

narrative of accountability, that there is, in fact, specific and neutral knowledge that the teacher transmits to students and then tests students on to determine that they have learned the material. Thus, even in the context of a school that did not have to participate in many aspects of the current accountability movement, ideas intrinsic to this master narrative played a powerful role in teachers' discourse of practice.

Whereas, in Elsie's student teaching year, she was reticent to embrace these ideas and resisted them in her practice, as she faced the pressures of her first year, and without access to other teachers valuing or attempting alternative practices, she generally gave in to the discourse of practice at St. B's and adopted a transmission-style of teaching. However, it is worth noting that Elsie continued to engage in more interactive teaching practices with her freshman classes, and attributed this, in part, to the students being new to the school and not yet socialized into the discourse of practice that dominated at St. B's. In an observation I conducted of her freshman class, the students sat in a round and engaged in a lively discussion about Romeo and Juliet. This example complicates the idea that Elsie thoroughly embraced the traditional approach to teaching that dominated at St. B's. It further suggests that perhaps if Elsie had had more adequate support and not been so isolated, she might have found ways to return to a discourse of practice in keeping with some of her own and her program's ideas. However, this example was isolated. Most of her work with students as well as her discussion of practice in the first year of teaching demonstrated a willingness to embrace a discourse that focused on a transmission-style of teaching. Thus, Elsie seemed to move away from the discourse of practice that had animated her initial desire to teach, and that her teacher education

program promoted. Rather, her practice became increasingly focused on transmitting what Mrs. Diamond indicated were "the basics."

Discourse of Race and Equity: From Challenging Bias to Showing Love

The discourse of race and equity refers, in part, to ideas about the racial divide and the role race plays in the lives of children and families. It also refers to ideas and practices that promote multiple perspectives and combat bias. Elsie's evolving discourse of race and equity was quite different from Lola's, in part because of their entering discourses and in part because of the contexts in which they each worked.

Like Lola, Elsie had had a fairly homogeneous upbringing, attending a White, suburban high school where the only students of color were those who participated in a program that brought urban students to attend school in her suburban community. Therefore, she had very limited experience with racial diversity and cultural difference. Yet, unlike Lola, she did not express a deep desire to work in schools with racially diverse student populations. In fact, even in Elsie's earliest interview, her understanding of teaching for social justice focused primarily on working with White students.

As described in the previous chapter, Lola's interpretation of a discourse of race was, from the beginning, focused on building academic skills and improving life chances for students of color. By contrast, Elsie's entering discourse of race and equity related to teaching her mostly White students to learn to embrace difference, develop an understanding of multiple perspectives, and consider their position of relative privilege in society. However, as Elsie became more entrenched in the culture and discourses of St. B's, and isolated with her students, this discourse was neglected as she focused instead on building connections with her students.

It is worth noting that even in Elsie's earliest discussions about teaching for social justice, she often dichotomized "urban" and "suburban" schools, explaining that she believed she would be more successful in a "suburban" environment. In general, in several interviews during her teacher education year, Elsie seemed to equivocate about her interest in teaching suburban students, perhaps in part because the intermediate discourse of her teacher education program had an implicit focus on preparing teachers for urban schools.

A central tenet of Elsie's teacher education program was a focus on the goal of meeting the needs of diverse learners, and in many courses, faculty referred most specifically to working with urban students of color. In interviews that were conducted as part of the larger study of which these two cases were a part, several faculty members emphasized the teachers' responsibility to meet the needs of minority and low-income students. These groups of students, whom faculty often referred to generally as "urban" students, were the implicit focus of much of the discussion of "diversity." Thus the intermediate discourse of race and equity Elsie encountered in her teacher education program tended to emphasize preparing teachers to work with urban students of color and sensitizing the primarily White, middle-class teacher candidates to the context of urban schooling.

Two of Elsie's instructors, in particular, articulated this urban focus in their interviews. Ms. Cameron, who taught Elsie's secondary curriculum and instruction course, explained that her emphasis on urban education was designed to prepare White middle class teachers for the realities they would face in schools different from those they attended. She explained:

> [My goal is] for the students in my class that are working with kids in urban schools to really think about what those kids bring to school with them and what they're not bringing with them. They don't have the same experiences. They don't have the same resources. You expect parental involvement. You might not get the same level. You expect that they're on par with their English. They might not be. You expect that you have resources in your school. You probably won't. So I think [the class emphasis on social justice] would affect more dramatically people who are planning on working in urban schools.

In Ms. Cameron's comments, it was clear that her interpretation of teaching for social justice centered on preparing White, middle-class students for urban schools. However, she also acknowledged a tension inherent in her emphasis, as she was aware that many of her students were not planning to teach in urban schools. In fact, she acknowledged that some students felt "beaten over the head" with the urban emphasis and were made to feel that they were "bad" people if they chose a suburban school. Thus, she recognized the tension between the program discourse of race and the teaching goals of many of the teacher candidates.

Dr. Manfred, Elsie's English methods instructor, whom she referred to as her favorite instructor at Hill, also focused on urban teaching as a central aspect of preparing teachers to teach for social justice. Whereas she referred to meeting the needs of all students, implicit in many of her interview comments was an assumption that she was preparing teacher candidates to teach in urban schools with diverse student bodies, in terms of race and language ability. When asked about the role of social justice in her work with teacher candidates, she explained:

> The hardest thing for me to work with is the fact that [teacher candidates] all have rescue fantasies, and they're going to go in and save every little Black and Latino child…What I'll do for my lessons, I'll say, you're gearing this to a classroom of diverse learners. Here are the cultures. Here are the ethnicities. Here are the reading levels. Okay. Go for it. And they hate that. And you've got five bilingual learners in the classroom who are not at, who do not have proficiency in their native language. What are you going do?

Implicit in Dr. Manfred's discussion of social justice here was her emphasis on challenging her own White teacher candidates' racial biases, and specifically preparing them to work in urban schools.

I do not want to suggest that preparing teachers to teach for social justice is not, in part, about preparing them for the context of urban schools. Rather, what I am suggesting is that the discourse of Elsie's teacher education program—a social justice oriented program—seemed to focus on preparing teachers to work specifically with urban students. Yet this focus seemed to have been both challenging and confusing for Elsie, who had no urban experience to draw on. In fact, she expressed some ambivalence about urban teaching in general, and rather than becoming more comfortable with the idea of teaching in an urban school. It seems that her professors' attention to the "realities of urban schools" may have made her even more ambivalent.

In fact, in several interviews in her pre-service year, Elsie explained that she had imagined teaching urban students but had changed her mind because she thought she would fail, at least in the beginning of her career. In the first interview, when I asked Elsie about whether she planned to teach in an urban public school, she explained that

though she had thought that she wanted to do that, she felt she had very limited experience with teaching and did not want to run the risk of burning out in a difficult school environment in her first years. Whereas she had imagined she would work in an urban school when she first came to Hill, after she started to think more specifically about it, she determined that she might work in a suburban school for a few years first. She explained:

> I'm not sure anymore [about urban teaching] because I don't have much experience there and, it can be very hard and I, from what I understand there's a lot of burn out the first couple years and I want to make sure that I'm used to teaching and that I get on my feet and get kind of going with it before I get into a situation that's going to be very difficult, just so that I don't get so frustrated with it that I feel like quitting. (Interview 1)

Elsie went on to explain that she might work in a suburban environment to "get the basics of teaching down" and then perhaps move to urban teaching.

After beginning student teaching at St. B's, Elsie continued to dichotomize urban and suburban schools, and again seemed to equivocate about her choice to teach in a suburban environment. She explained:

> I think I can go pretty much anywhere and be useful, and be an agent of change, I guess is the way a lot of people put it. I think now—if you go to a school, you need to go to a school that gives you some leeway because otherwise you can't do the things that would make a difference…I don't feel anymore like I need to go to the worst school possible and try to make it better necessarily…I think if I was dealing with an inner city school right away, I'd probably collapse. (Interview 3)

In Elsie's discussion of the kind of schools where she might be successful, she often juxtaposed good schools in suburban environments with difficult schools in urban environments. As I cite earlier in this chapter, McDonald (2005) observed that the power of field experiences to reinforce ideas about social justice encountered in teacher education should not be underestimated. For Elsie, who lacked any real exposure to urban schools, she seemed to become frightened of urban teaching rather than developing the sense that she might be a successful urban teacher. This perspective, repeated in several interviews, also suggests that Elsie was trying to justify her choice of suburban teaching, perhaps in part as a reaction against the teacher education program discourse of race that focused on urban teaching. Of course, it is ironic that Elsie ended up in a suburban parochial school teaching students very similar demographically to those she had attended school with herself. Yet, in this context, she confronted many of the difficulties she had attributed to urban teaching, such as disciplinary challenges and a highly dictated curriculum, and ended up leaving teaching altogether.

However, despite her general rejection of urban teaching, Elsie did enter teaching with her own interpretation of a discourse of race and equity. This discourse did not focus on working with students of color or urban students; instead, Elsie's entering and enduring discourse of race and equity focused on eliminating bias among students, teaching respect, and in that way, bridging the racial divide. When I asked Elsie in our very first interview what teaching for social justice meant to her, she explained:

> I think it's to start to break down the barriers between different people that's just--it's going to be a long time if ever when we finally get to a society that really is just and where you have equity for people from all different backgrounds and

> where what you're born into doesn't determine your future completely. But I think in schools we can start to break those down a little more easily--students are a little more open to new things and they learn and they have less barriers and prejudices set up than adults do…so I think we do need to teach them to question things and to have respect for everybody else in the classroom including the teachers, including the staff and faculty, including the other students of course and just teaching them to--teaching the hate out of society I guess (Interview 1).

In this excerpt, although she is not explicit about working with White students, in light of her previous experience and intentions, it seems that Elsie interpreted a discourse of race and equity in terms of reducing bias and prejudice among the White suburban students. This represents a different interpretation of the discourse of race from what Lola imagined: Lola's discourse of race centered on increasing the life chances of students of color. Both of these interpretations are valid, of course, but suggest quite different ideas and practices.

Elsie attempted to enact this discourse of race and equity in her student teaching at St. B's. Specifically, she chose to teach Barbara Kingsolver's novel, *The Bean Trees*, because she believed it would raise several important issues about diversity and respect for difference. This focus on exposing students to multiple perspectives and challenging them to examine their biases was something that Elsie believed was critical to teaching for social justice in her context.

Elsie explained that St. B's students tended to come from very conservative families, and she had heard "some very racist opinions…and just some general misunderstandings" (Interview 5). She explained that she wanted students to demonstrate

an understanding of the different arguments for and against immigration and recognize that there were multiple perspectives. In addition, she wanted them to learn to discuss these issues in respectfully, and develop more awareness of how their comments affected their fellow students. Thus, Elsie led discussions about immigration and cultural difference in conjunction with teaching *The Bean Trees*.

Elsie concluded that, although these discussions were challenging, she experienced some success promoting multiple perspectives and respect for difference. She described an incident in class that was both challenging and affirming of her belief in confronting these issues. During a discussion of immigration, one student stated that all immigrants should learn to speak English so they can "serve us" better at Wendy's. Elsie explained that she was not prepared for this comment and was unable to respond to it adequately during the initial discussion but knew she needed to return to it the following day. However, one of her students, a young woman who had emigrated from the Ukraine, approached Elsie after school and they talked about the situation. She invited the student to help her think about how to address the issue and together they decided that the young woman would speak to the class and explain her perspective as an immigrant. The next day, Elsie continued the discussion with the class and gave the young woman the chance to explain her perspective. Reflecting on these discussions, Elsie believed that some of the students developed greater awareness of how their attitudes might make this young woman feel. In an essay Elsie wrote for one of her courses, she expressed her conviction that teaching for social justice required her to challenge her students' biases even when the conversations were difficult:

> Fighting is frustrating when it's so hard to get through to students. But what is the study of literature good for if not for changing people's thinking? I intend to continue to grab hold of the painful issues in books. I won't let sleeping dogs lie. If I do, one day those rabid dogs will wake up and I won't like the world that I've helped to create. (TE coursework, 4/06)

Thus, working with a student body in which many students held what Elsie thought were racist beliefs, she hoped to use the platform of her English classroom to raise important issues related to race and equity, and thereby teach for social justice. She explained that, at St. B's, her version of teaching for social justice did not entail "going into the inner city schools and making sure those kids have every opportunity…it means coming here and teaching these kids to have some empathy" (Interview 6). Again, in this comment, Elsie seemed to react against the teacher education program discourse of race that entailed working with urban students, and continued to feel the need to explain that she could work for social justice in the context of a suburban environment.

However, Elsie's interpretation of a discourse of race and equity was not encouraged at St. B's. In fact, many teachers had told Elsie that they were so "appalled" by students' attitudes that they did not raise these issues. Elsie's impression was that the teachers at St. B's felt that it was a "lost cause" (Interview 6) to raise issues about race, bias, and tolerance with the students. Thus, the intermediate discourses at St. B's simply did not attend to issues of race and equity. In interviews with Mr. Brown and Mrs. Diamond, when I asked them about the school's approach to social justice, they did not make any explicit reference to race, culture, or equity. Mr. Brown, for example, described social justice at St. B's in terms of the Catholic mission of the school and the "moral

compass" the school intended to instill in students. He spoke about the school's sense of community and attention to community service. Although Mrs. Diamond referred to Elsie's work with *The Bean Trees*, her response to my question about the school's commitment to social justice elicited a description of an assembly for Memorial Day to honor veterans. Thus, it seems fair to say that the discourse of race and equity at St. B's was limited to discussions about service and community and did not address many of the issues that interested Elsie when she started her student teaching.

Yet, as Elsie reflected on her student teaching year and anticipated her first year as a full-time teacher, she was optimistic that she might continue to raise these issues with her students and have more success promoting empathy and tolerance. However, in Elsie's first year teaching, her attention to these kinds of issues all but ceased. Her talk about teaching, her description of what she did in class, and my observations of her teaching all indicated that she did not engage students in discussions that challenged their perspectives or encouraged them to develop empathy for others. Rather, as I discussed in the previous section about her discourse of practice, most of her attention was on transmitting the content and getting through the material in the textbook. As a result, discussion of social issues and multiple perspectives was largely absent from her teaching in the first year.

For example, when I observed Elsie screening *The Red Badge of Courage* for her junior students at the end of the year, she followed the movie by immediately turning to a review of the characteristics of the "Realist period" in American literature. She asked the students to take out their textbooks and they immediately began comparing the film to the characteristics listed in the book. Although the movie raises issues about the impact of

war, and the individual's struggle to find a place in the context of a war—and even though Elsie taught students who were probably directly affected in some way by the war in Iraq--she did not raise these issues or allow any time for general discussion of the movie. As an observer, this struck me as a missed opportunity for substantive, albeit difficult, discussion. This missed opportunity reflects Kennedy's (2006) finding from her research of teachers that demonstrated that teachers often avoid discussions when the students' responses, as novice thinkers, may take discussions in unexpected and difficult directions. It seemed that whereas Elsie had entered teaching with the desire to raise important issues and promote multiple perspectives, the example above illustrates how far she had moved from that goal.

Thus, for Elsie, her first and only year as a teacher was characterized by a narrowing of her practice. This in turn seemed to lead her to let go of a discourse of race and equity that focused on promoting multiple perspectives and raising difficult issues. Whereas she had entered teacher education with a strong vision of challenging bias and promoting empathy and tolerance as a critical part of her goal to teach for social justice, as she experienced the press of full-time teaching and adapted to the culture of St. B's, she tended to avoid these issues. Whereas they had been important in her initial ideas about teaching for social justice, they seemed no longer to be central to her vision of teaching for social justice.

Discourse of Responsibility: Isolation

As my study suggests, the process of learning to teach for social justice involves examining the discourses to which one is exposed and exploring the complexity suggested by these discourses. In Lola's case, as she developed as a teacher, her

discourse of responsibility moved from a rather superficial tendency to blame teachers and schools for the challenges her students faced to a more sophisticated and nuanced understanding of shared responsibility and recognition of the complexity of teaching. Thus, a discourse of responsibility includes teachers' beliefs and actions related to their own and students' responsibility for learning, as well as teachers' critical perspective about their work. In addition, as illustrated in Lola's case, a discourse of responsibility also includes an understanding of the role of schools in student and teacher learning.

Over the course of the time I interviewed and observed Elsie, her interpretation of the discourse of responsibility related to teaching for social justice wavered as she sought to make sense of the difficulties she encountered. This may be attributed in part to Elsie's own personal challenges. She struggled with organizational issues and also at times attributed her difficulties to circumstances beyond her control. However, St. B's discourse of responsibility also contributed to her stalled development. Elsie's circumstances at St. B's were far from ideal and contributed both to her difficulty developing a balanced discourse of responsibility, as Lola did, and added to the troubles she encountered managing her students and holding them to high expectations.

It must be said that Elsie did not display the same critical and reflective stance toward her teaching that I observed in Lola. While both Elsie and Lola described themselves as inclined to take the "blame" (Elsie, Interview 9) when things did not go well, Elsie did not show the same drive to improve her instruction that Lola did. Whereas, throughout the time I followed Lola, from student teaching through her third year of teaching, she employed multiple resources to improve her practice, Elsie tended to identify barriers to her success without employing a forward-thinking perspective. In this

way, Elsie did not exhibit a critical stance toward her work, which was an important aspect of Lola's discourse of responsibility.

Some personal challenges may have interfered with Elsie's ability to take ownership of her students' learning. First, Elsie did not have the strong sense of organization that I observed in Lola, and this interfered with her ability to hold her students accountable for their work. For example, in an observation of Elsie's student teaching, I noted that she had not recorded the chapters the students were supposed to have read for homework and, as a result, only some of the students had completed the assignment. When she announced the next day's homework, several students challenged her, confusing her about what she had originally assigned, and convincing her to simply reassign the previous night's work for the next class (Field Notes, 4/25/06). As a result of this lack of clarity, the students never finished *The Bean Trees* and did not have a concluding discussion before the final assessment. If Elsie had been more organized, she might not have given in to the pressure from her students—it was clear to me as an observer that she had indeed assigned the chapters the previous night, although it was also apparent that she did not have a clear system in place for giving assignments.

Elsie's difficulty holding her students' accountable for completing their work continued in her first year of teaching, and was perhaps exacerbated by the sheer number of students whom she taught. During the student teaching period, Elsie only had two classes of students and was not responsible for all their work in class. However, in her first year, Elsie taught 5 classes for a total of 121 students. She described how she was overwhelmed by the tasks associated with managing this number of students, in terms of discipline but also in terms of keeping track of their work and providing them meaningful

and timely feedback. She explained that she had difficulty, in particular, holding her students to deadlines. In part, this related to her belief, as I describe above, that showing some flexibility and understanding for students was critical to teaching for social justice. However, this was also due to the sheer number of students and her difficulty managing the paperwork. She explained how she had to accept her students' excuses because she did not always know what had happened to assignments:

> When one of them tells me, "Look, I did pass that in on time, it just got in the wrong pile" which has happened…if the kid is sure that [he] did not pass it in two days late, I have it marked two days late, unless I remember a specific incident. I've got 121 kids. There are so many of them…And there's so many of them that turn things in late or I have to nag every day. It's just hard to keep track of everything for me. (Interview 7)

This difficulty with organization was evident in my observations of Elsie in her first year of teaching. Beyond simply losing assignments, she did not seem to have a clear and consistent system in place to provide feedback to students. When I observed Elsie in November, she handed back assignments to her students and they did not understand her grading system. As she passed back the work, there was a lot of chatter around the room about the grades students had received; they did not know what the letters meant. The excerpt below is from field notes:

> [As Elsie hands back assignments, there's lots of chatter—"what'd you get", etc.]
>
> Student #1: "D-, what'd you get? Five out of what?"
>
> Student #2: "Probably 100" [sarcasm and teasing each other]
>
> Student #3: "Dude, I don't know."

Student #4: “What does S mean?”

Elsie: “I’ll explain” [she keeps having to call out, “I’ll explain” because as kids are getting back assignments with “S” on the top, they keep asking what it means.]

A boy from the front of the room calls out: “Satisfactory—Dude, I got a U so S must be…” [He realizes that “S” must mean satisfactory because the alternative is “U” which must mean unsatisfactory.]

Elsie: “Alright, quiet down for a minute. Normally, I would get that back to you in a more timely fashion but my computer was on the fritz and then I had to go through 3 billion papers for my 5 classes.” [She explains that S means partial credit.] “If you got a U you need to see me. I don’t think anyone got a U…”

The same boy in the front: “Wait, I did.”

Elsie: [looks at him and remembers]: “Oh yah. Well, you didn’t even really do the assignment.” [He begins to protest.]

Elsie: “Unsatisfactory for U and O for Outstanding. Contrary to popular opinion Satisfactory is not really great—it means you did the work but I’d like to see more effort.”

Student: “It’s like a C.”

Another Student: “There you go, that’s all I ask.” (Field Notes, 11/14/06)

In this excerpt, taken from an observation conducted several months into Elsie’s first year of teaching, the students did not seem to understand her grading system, and it seemed that she had not used this system on previous assignments. Of course, new teachers do tinker, modify, and adapt their strategies as they learn in the first year, but a lack of

consistency in her grading system affected her ability to provide clear guidelines and expectations, and also contributed to her difficulty holding them accountable for their work over time. It is worth noting that, yet again, there did not appear to be much support for Elsie to develop systems nor did the school employ a standard grading procedure. It seemed that Elsie was not provided any guidance about how to evaluate her students or what systems to put in place.

Thus, in addition to Elsie's own challenges associated with organizing and holding students accountable, the school, in turn, took almost no responsibility for new teachers' learning and development. St. B's general lack of responsibility for supporting and developing teachers only exacerbated Elsie's difficulties. In fact, Elsie's sense was that it would be looked down on if she reached out for help. She explained—and Mrs. Diamond confirmed in my interview with her—that the expectation was that teachers would only send students to the vice principal if their behavior was truly egregious. In fact, Elsie expected she could "get in trouble" with the assistant principal for abusing the privilege of sending students out of class (Interview 8). Elsie believed that she was expected to manage all her classroom issues herself, but also explained that the school lacked a clear system to support her in doing so. For example, she explained that she was supposed to keep students after school for detention if they misbehaved but that there was no system in place at the school-wide level to hold them accountable and they often did not show up for these detentions.

Elsie's assessment of the school's rather inadequate systems of support was confirmed by comments Mr. Brown, Elsie's department chair and official mentor, made to me at the end of the year. Mr. Brown had no regularly scheduled meetings with Elsie

over the course of the year, and when asked about what kind of support was provided to her, explained that it could have been better. However, he also criticized Elsie for not taking more responsibility to reach out for help. He explained:

> I think midway through the year, October, November, a couple of the English teachers made mention that Elsie is one of our own, we should try to help her if she's struggling. I think a couple of them took her under their wing…You know, there was some support there. People didn't abandon. I think you often times have to seek some support yourself. I think you have to maybe even let people know what's going on in your life, that maybe you need a little help, you need a little assistance. And, you know, maybe it could've been better. But as far as most, most departments they are supportive people. They're not mean-spirited.

As reflected in Mr. Brown's comments, there was no official induction system in place for new teachers and no regular mentoring meetings. Rather, as Mr. Brown indicated, it occurred to some of the teachers halfway through the fall semester that it might be a good idea to look out for Elsie more. In fact, Elsie was only observed once during the whole year and received brief but positive feedback from this one observation, conducted by Mr. Brown. In addition, as Mr. Brown intimated, he expected Elsie to reach out for help rather than taking it upon himself to set up any official meetings.

I spoke with Elsie the morning that she was given the news that her contract would not be renewed. She told me, through tears, that the principal had explained to her that her dismissal was due to "discipline issues" that could not be resolved. The principal told her that her reputation was now set and she would not be able to change it. The principal's decision not to renew Elsie's contract and to explain that it was due to her

difficulties managing her students suggests that the principal believed that Elsie's difficulties were her own and not, in any way, the responsibility of teaching colleagues and superiors to help her resolve. The principal's comment suggests that the discourse of responsibility at St. B's, reinforced by the utter lack of guidance and support provided Elsie all year, was that there was no sense of shared responsibility for students' and teachers' learning and development. This stands in stark contrast to the discourse of responsibility promoted at Lola's first teaching job.

Comparing Elsie's discourse of responsibility to Lola's is, in many ways, unfair. Although Elsie did not exhibit the same inquiring and reflective stance about her teaching that Lola did, it would be wrong to blame Elsie entirely for this. Lola was in an environment at Little Village that promoted teacher development and supported her ongoing efforts to improve her practice. Lola told me that she was observed with detailed feedback at least 14 times during her first year of teaching. By contrast, Elsie was increasingly isolated and unsupported as she struggled with similar issues related to classroom management and student performance. Elsie's experience at St. B's reinforces research on teacher induction and mentoring that suggests that quality mentors "find openings" with novice teachers to discuss interpretations and practices, and discuss signs of growth (Feiman-Nemsar, 2001). In addition, research on teacher induction indicates that strong and organized mentoring, along with other supports, plays a significant role in the retention of new teachers (Ingersoll & Smith, 2004). In Elsie's case, perhaps it is no surprise that, absent these supports, her outcomes were so different from Lola's.

Before concluding my discussion of the discourse of responsibility, it is also important to note the role of Elsie's enduring discourse of Christianity as it related to her

understanding of responsibility. On several occasions, when Elsie referred to events that occurred in her life, she described God's role in her decision-making process. For example, when asked about her decision to work at St. B's, she explained that she was at the school as a result of a lot of prayer and planning. She commented:

> I'm here because of years of prayer and of planning and of thinking about it….I think this is where I'm supposed to be and therefore I think that God will help me through it. (Interview 6)

However, only a little more than a year later, Elsie's ideas about teaching and God's plans for her had dramatically changed. When I interviewed Elsie six months after she left teaching, she explained that she believed, "God put me in the impossible school just to get me out of teaching faster" (Interview 10). This comment, offered in response to a question about whether she would ever return to the classroom, suggests that Elsie's religious identity played a role in helping her make sense of her experiences at St. B's. This comment—that God set her up to fail because she was not meant to teach—suggests that Elsie felt a general lack of agency related to what happened at St. B's. In other words, rather than seeing the situation as one that might have been different if she had had more guidance and support, or if her teaching load had been lighter, she saw the whole thing as inevitable. Instead of seeing the potential for success in another context, Elsie interpreted her experience as more or less predetermined, and therefore as evidence that she should leave teaching. In this way, Elsie seemed to apply her own enduring discourse of Christianity, which indicated that God had a plan for her, to her difficulties at St. B's. Thus, Elsie's Christianity had a powerful influence on her discourse of

responsibility, turning her away from a career she had entered only two years previously with great enthusiasm.

Conclusion

Learning to teach is a tension-filled and difficult process. When teachers are prepared in programs with a social justice agenda, they are challenged to consider the relationship of several interrelated discourses of social justice: the discourses or relationships, expectations, practice, race and equity, and responsibility. The task of the new teacher is to explore these discourses, and investigate how they apply to the contexts in which they teach. In so doing, teachers adapt these discourses, and interpret them to fit their situations. At times, these discourses are in conflict with teachers' own personal ideas and beliefs or with the discourse of the K-12 schools where they work. When this happens, new teachers have a difficult task sustaining some commitment to the range of discourses of social justice. To do so, in the face of these challenges and conflicts, requires support and guidance to negotiate these tensions and make use of them to improve one's teaching.

As this chapter describes, Elsie came to teacher education with some strong ideas about social justice, mostly derived from her own experiences as a student and from her strong identity as a Christian. These experiences and beliefs led her to focus most clearly on a discourse of relationships when she entered teacher education. Yet, as she began her pre-service program, Elsie also considered ideas about expectations, practice, and race as they related to her understanding of social justice. However, in the context of a teaching environment that did not support the ideas she brought to teaching or encountered in teacher education, and absent a strong connection to her teacher education program to

support her development, Elsie's understanding of teaching for social justice was most profoundly influenced by the context of her K-12 school.

Elsie's attempt to adapt the discourses of social justice to match the realities of St. B's would not, alone, have been enough to lead to her failure. However, Elsie's narrowing of focus from an ideology of social justice that privileged the discourse of relationships but also explored ideas about promoting multiple perspectives, reducing bias, and engaging in innovative practices to one that centered entirely on her successful connections with students occurred because of a lack of support and feedback from her colleagues and principal, and as a result her increasing isolation with students. She was driven to seek affirmation almost entirely from her students that she was doing a good job and she measured her success based on how they responded to her and related to her. She prided herself on building supportive relationships with her students and being a caring adult in their lives, perhaps in part because she had no other way to measure her efficacy as a new teacher for social justice.

As Lola's case illustrates, when teachers have support and guidance to negotiate these discourses, the somewhat superficial or unexamined ideas about social justice that teacher candidates bring to teacher education have the opportunity to deepen and ultimately become a set of complex and internally persuasive discourses about teaching, learning, and social justice. However, absent support to investigate, question, and adapt a range of discourses of social justice, and learn to see the complexity as part of the work of teaching, it is not surprising the Elsie left St. B's, ambivalent about whether one could actually work for social justice in the context of teaching.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONTRIBUTIONS AND IMPLICATIONS OF LEARNING TO TEACH FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE AS IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE

This dissertation set out to answer the question: What is the experience of learning to teach for teacher candidates/graduates prepared in a program with a stated social justice agenda? As I have argued throughout this dissertation, learning to teach for social justice is a complex, tension-filled, and ongoing process, and thus any attempt to study and explain this process must be equally complex. Furthermore, successfully learning to teach for social justice involves embracing a number of tensions and making use of them in one's continuous learning and development.

This dissertation makes two central contributions to research in teacher education. First, the conceptual framework this dissertation presents offers a complex and sophisticated analysis of what it means to learn to teach in a program with a social justice agenda. In this way, the dissertation challenges the idea that either a teacher education program's or a teacher's effectiveness may be assessed according to one particular characteristic or one single measure. Rather, I suggest that learning to teach is a complex endeavor and that success in this process is influenced by many factors. Furthermore, the cases demonstrate that, in contrast to the conventional wisdom that there is a set of straightforward attributes (such as GRE scores or subject mater preparation) that indicate whether someone will be successful in teaching, in fact, successfully learning to teach depends on several interrelated and complex circumstances. Second, the framework offered here contributes to the research in teacher education that draws on theories of discourse and ideological becoming by suggesting a new way of thinking about the discourses that influence teachers as they learn to teach. Each of these contributions is

described in detail below, and they each suggest several implications for research, policy, and practice.

Learning to Teach for Social Justice as an Ideological Struggle

The framework presented in this dissertation provides a way to untangle many of the complexities of learning to teach in a program with a social justice agenda. The framework takes into account and considers the diverse influences on teacher candidates and graduates as they negotiate the process of learning to teach over a considerable period of time. This process of learning to teach is characterized by tension and struggle. One of the important insights allowed by this framework is that the tensions teachers encounter as they learn to teach for social justice have no resolution or endpoint or conclusion. Rather, teaching for social justice inevitably and continuously involves contradictions and struggles, and these occur across the professional lifespan. These struggles are an essential part of learning to teach and teaching for social justice. Yet, as this dissertation shows, they may be particularly potent early in teachers' careers and may present considerable challenges to new teachers as they attempt to negotiate the difficult first years of teaching. Therefore, this dissertation examined in great depth the experience of two teacher candidates/graduates from entry point into a one-year Master's level teacher education program to the present, which is almost four years later, in order to understand how teacher candidates/new graduates manage the struggle and what makes a difference in their successful negotiation of the process of learning to teach for social justice.

Specifically, the framework I present suggests that when teachers are prepared in a teacher education program with a stated commitment to social justice, they encounter a

range of discourses related to social justice that represent different beliefs, interpretations, and practices. First, teachers' own entering and enduring discourses—the beliefs, values, and experiences they bring to the teacher education and that they continue to draw on throughout the process of learning to teach—have a powerful impact on their developing understanding and practice as teachers for social justice. In addition, the intermediate discourses they encounter—the discourses of the teacher education program and the K-12 schools where they student teach and then begin working as teachers—also play a significant and ongoing role in their development of an authentic perspective as teachers for social justice. The interactions between and among these discourses—the entering and enduring discourses, the teacher education program discourses, and the K-12 school discourses—are complex and ongoing. Each of these influences and continues to play a part in teachers' learning over time and sets the stage for the teachers' development of a set of internally persuasive—and deeply interrogated—discourses of social justice. It is this deep interrogation that involves struggle, as teachers deal with contradictions, and make sense of the ideals of justice in the face of the realities of schools and societal forces. It is also this deep interrogation that requires support from others and a context in which questioning and uncertainty are not simply allowed, but valued.

As I argue throughout this dissertation, society's master narratives about educational accountability and meritocracy continuously influence the intermediate discourses. These master narratives influence the discourses of the teacher education program and the K-12 schools in complex, rather than straightforward ways. For example, the discourse of teacher education programs with a social justice agenda may represent a deliberate rejection of rigid test-based accountability systems, while the

discourse of a particular K-12 school may be a local instantiation of the same idea. As this dissertation demonstrates in the cases of both Lola and Elsie, the complex interrelationships of the discourses of society, teacher education program, and school may create additional tensions for the new teacher attempting to interpret and construct the discourses of social justice. Amidst this "polyphony of voices" (Britzman, 1991), the teachers' task is to interpret, interrogate, and adapt these discourses and, in this way, develop an authentic ideological perspective about teaching and social justice.

The framework presented in this dissertation also suggests that successfully learning to teach for social justice does not mean that one arrives at a single discourse of social justice or even that there is any kind of arrival at all. In fact, as I have mentioned, success is characterized both by a teacher's sustained commitment to teaching as well as by the ability to negotiate this tension-filled process and draw on these tensions to facilitate interpretations and teaching practices.

Over time, as the case studies in this dissertation demonstrate, not all teachers may negotiate the process of learning to teach for social justice equally successfully, even when they enter a preservice program with considerable assets and when they are prepared at highly-regarded institutions. Success, in fact, depends to a large extent on the contexts in which learning takes place, but this includes all the contexts in which new teachers learn—in their teacher preparation program as well as in the schools. In addition, the teacher education programs and the different K-12 schools where new teachers student teach and then work in their first jobs continue to influence them even after they have moved on. In fact, as evidenced by the two cases, the learning in student teaching

and the first years had a compounding effect on the teachers as they continued to draw on those experiences over time.

In contrast to the complex picture of learning to teach as ideological struggle dependent on many overlapping factors and situations, much of the larger debate about teacher education reform and about highly qualified teachers is based on a much simpler view. In short, much of the focus of current policy efforts related to improving the quality of the nation's teachers focuses on discrete variables and characteristics, such as recruiting more teachers from highly selective undergraduate institutions or hiring teachers with strong subject matter knowledge and performance on standard assessments of verbal ability, such as the GRE (Wayne & Youngs, 2003). Interestingly, although this dissertation in no way suggests that subject matter and verbal ability are unimportant for teachers, these characteristics were not central to the outcomes of the two cases examined in this dissertation.

In fact, the two teachers described in this study met and exceeded all of the qualifications that are central to contemporary policy definitions of teacher quality. Both Lola and Elsie graduated from highly selective undergraduate universities where they had excelled in the particular subject matter they then went on to teach. In addition, each of them had very strong GRE scores, and as the excerpts from their interviews and their preservice coursework suggest, they both had strong verbal ability. In addition, over the years I followed them, neither they nor any of the people I interviewed about their work ever made a comment that suggested that they lacked content knowledge or that knowledge was an issue in their teaching. Rather, their supervisors, cooperating teachers, and administrators all affirmed that they had no concerns whatsoever about the subject

matter preparation or content knowledge of these two teachers. Although subject matter is certainly important in teaching, it did not seem to be subject matter that made the difference in the success or failure of these two teachers. Instead, as my framework suggests, for these two teachers, the processes of learning to teach for social justice involved the complex interplay of several complex influences. In the next sections I describe what in fact seemed to make a difference for these two teachers as they learned to teach for social justice, and with that, what the implications are for policy and practice.

How Context Matters

For the two in this study, success or failure was strongly influenced by, and in fact embedded in their circumstances, contexts, and cultures. Specifically, my analysis of the data about these two teachers demonstrates that the interactions and experiences they had in preservice teacher education and at each of their K-12 schools had a profound influence on their experiences. In particular, the extent of support they had (or did not have)—in terms of supervision, mentoring, and guidance in these contexts—played a significant role in whether they were able to negotiate the tensions among the various discourses they encountered as they struggled with the pressures and demands of being new teachers. .

As I have described in detail in the preceding, during her pre-service year, although Lola's supervision had serious limitations, she had access to other teachers who were struggling with larger issues related to social justice. When she left her student teaching school and moved to her first job, the mentoring and support she received allowed her to grow as a teacher, question ideas she had taken for granted, and explore new practices. She attended a week of opening meetings for new teachers, was assigned a

mentor with whom she regularly met, was observed at least 14 times, and was generally encouraged to ask questions, seek help, and make changes along the way with the help of her supervisor and mentor. The support she received at her first year school, even after she left, continued to positively influence her development as she drew from ideas she had gathered in that first year and applied these ideas to her new contexts.

As I have shown, Elsie's experience was, in every way, the antithesis of Lola's. Whereas Lola student taught at a school with strong connections to Hill University and where there were also several peers from the university, Elsie worked in a school removed from the supports of the University (even though this was the result of Elsie's own request and the program's effort to be responsive to her particular needs—in part, a function of the program's own commitment to meet the needs of all learners). While Lola worked with a cooperating teacher who was both familiar with the program and with working with student teachers, Elsie's cooperating teacher often criticized teacher education for its distance from the realities of teaching and was not aware of or connected to the goals of the program. In Elsie's first and only year as a teacher, she was far lonelier than Lola in many ways. Lola had consistent and reliable support, and a sense of collegiality pervaded her school. By contrast, at Elsie's school, there were no formal structures in place for new teachers, and Elsie had no real access to other teachers struggling to negotiate the various discourses of social justice. In addition, it is also worth mentioning that the physical circumstances of teaching load and class size were also important parts of the cultures of the two schools where these teachers took up their first teaching jobs--Lola had three classes with fewer than 20 students in each class. Elsie, by contrast, had 5 classes with an average of 25 in each and a total of 121 different students.

While the differences in the circumstances of Lola and Elsie were dramatic and stark, it is also important to note that there was evidence over the course of the two full years I observed her teaching that Elsie had many questions about her experiences and wanted to reflect critically about teaching, schooling, and her own experiences. As I describe in Chapter Six, her discussion of expectations with me suggested that she wanted to talk about the challenges and questions she had about her struggles with her own expectations and practices. Yet she did not have access to ongoing support for raising these critical questions. As a researcher and not a mentor, it was at times painful as we engaged in conversations about the choices she was making not to offer suggestions or prompt her to consider other avenues. In many ways, our relationship and the interview questions I brought with me were perhaps the only—and certainly the most consistent—opportunity she had for critical reflection both during student teaching and the first year of teaching.

Neither Elsie's strong undergraduate preparation at a very prestigious institution, her high GRE scores, or her solid content knowledge could make up for the barriers to successful ideological development that she encountered as she learned to teach or for the lack of opportunity she had to engage in the struggle in constructive ways. Thus, it is far from surprising that her attempts to investigate and interrogate—and eventually to develop a set of internally persuasive discourses related to social justice—ultimately stalled. Again, if we were to rely on the accepted wisdom about the important characteristics of highly qualified teachers, then Elsie should have been a successful teacher.

Contrasting Lola's and Elsie's cases makes it clear that strong support and induction in the first years is critical to new teachers. As new teachers struggle to negotiate the challenges of teaching and as they attempt to enact their social justice goals in the face of mandated curricula, high stakes exams, heavy teaching loads, and other constraints that are part of the press of teaching, effective and consistent mentoring and support is absolutely essential. Furthermore, as research on retention suggests, mentoring alone is not enough. Rather, effective induction includes a range of supports (Ingersoll & Smith, 2004). Lola relied on strong supervision, well-coordinated mentoring, and considerable professional development, both at her school and from additional resources such as museums and national associations, as she began her teaching career. Elsie, as I have described, received almost no formal support. In addition, Elsie told me that she attended only one professional development event in her first year of teaching and it was about how to use a Smartboard in her classroom—something the school did not yet own. Yet it is also true that some new teachers work in difficult and unsupportive schools and still, sometimes, succeed. What else might have contributed to Elsie's failure and, in turn, Lola's success?

What New Teachers Bring Matters Too

As my analysis of the data of these two cases illustrates, these teachers' relative success negotiating this complex and tension-filled process did not depend solely on their circumstances and the cultures of their schools and classrooms. It also depended upon what they each brought to the process of learning to teach as they struggled to negotiate the tensions they experienced within and among competing discourses. Unlike the commonly held wisdom that what makes a difference is subject matter knowledge or

verbal ability that teachers bring, it was the less tangible aspects of what they each brought that seemed to have the biggest influence on their success or failure.

In Elsie's case, as I have described, ideological development—in the sense of ongoing interrogation of complex and sometimes conflicting ideas—seemed to stall because she lacked the support Lola had throughout the process of learning to teach. However, personal factors also affected Elsie's stalled development. Whereas Lola had the benefit of parents who were in education, experience in the working world, and a strong sense of organization, Elsie came to teaching immediately following her undergraduate education and did not have the same personal resources to draw on in developing her understanding and practice of teaching for social justice. In addition, she had struggled socially throughout school and then found herself working in an environment where she was teaching students both close to herself in age and not so different from those students with whom she attended school herself. This familiarity may have made it difficult for her to confidently assume the teacher role.

In addition, Lola's and Elsie's entering ideas about social justice and the compatibility of these ideas with the discourses they encountered in the teacher education program and in the K-12 schools may have also contributed to their different outcomes. In Lola's case, she entered her pre-service program with some strong, albeit unexamined, ideas about what it meant to teach for social justice. She was particularly drawn to urban teaching because of her strong entering discourse of bridging the racial divide, and this discourse was largely confirmed by her experiences in teacher education and in the schools. At the same time, her understanding of this discourse was deepened as she was challenged to ask difficult questions of herself and her practice related to teaching

students of color. Similarly, Lola's other entering discourses were largely reinforced in either pre-service teacher education of in the K-12 schools, or both. For example, Lola's interpretation of a discourse of practice focused on basic skills was confirmed both by some of her methods course instruction as well as by her collaboration with the cooperating teacher in her field placement. Later, as she developed a more complicated practice, she was both inspired by and found support for these ideas in the resources she sought out at the museum of science and through the National Science Teacher Association. This ongoing confirmation and reinforcement allowed Lola to deepen and complicate the ideas about social justice that she held when she entered the teacher education program.

In Elsie's case, on the other hand, although she also entered the program with some strong but unexamined ideas about social justice, she found less compatibility between her entering discourses and the discourses either of her program or her school. For example, although Elsie believed in bridging the racial divide just as Lola did, Elsie's interpretation of the discourse of race created tensions for her as she struggled to make sense of what it meant to teach for social justice if she, as a White teacher, chose to work with suburban White students. She perceived, and some data from interviews with program faculty confirmed, that the preservice program's discourse of race focused generally on preparing teachers for urban schools. This is not surprising--as the literature reviewed in Chapter Two indicates, this is often an underlying goal of teacher education programs with a social justice agenda. However, Elsie's understanding of the discourse of race focused on eliminating bias and promoting multiple perspectives, primarily among White middle-class students. Although this is also a viable perspective on teaching for

social justice, there was little attention to this idea in Elsie's teacher education experience. The lack of attention to these ideas in the teacher education program was coupled with the utter lack of interest in a discourse of race and equity at the school where Elsie completed both student teaching and her first year. The lack of interest in engaging students in thoughtful discussion about difficult issues that pervaded the culture of Elsie's school created a much less conducive environment for Elsie as she strove to negotiate these ideas in the context of teaching.

In addition to all the constraints in Elsie's situation, it is also important to note that, whereas the discourses of Lola's schools may not have matched exactly with the goals of her program, she undoubtedly experienced more confirmation of her ideas about social justice and more support for the teaching she intended to do. In other words, Lola attended a teacher education program that emphasized urban teaching—this matched well with her entering discourses and largely complemented the discourses of the schools where she worked. By contrast, Elsie, who attended the same program, chose to teach in a suburban school with a discourse of practice that conflicted with the discourse of the teacher education program. This may have resulted in her feeling forced to choose between the two discourses rather than negotiate a more complex understanding. This stark contrast, as opposed to the nuances of difference that Lola encountered, may have led Elsie to reject the discourses of social justice she encountered in teacher education as a way to get along at St. B's.

The cases of these two teachers suggests that the relationships among teacher candidates' entering discourses, the teacher education program discourses, and the discourses of the schools where teacher candidates and graduates work may powerfully

influence the successful ideological development of new teachers. In other words, what Rogers and Scott (2008) referred to as the need for "goodness of fit" between teacher candidates' abilities and their programs' expectations may also be relevant to the discourses they bring and to those they encounter in their schools. Lola's and Elsie's cases suggest that some compatibility among the discourses teacher candidates bring, those they encounter in teacher education, and what they find in the schools facilitates successful development.

However, this raises important questions about recruitment and selection of teacher candidates and, perhaps more importantly, the tensions between program message and cohesion, on the one hand, and promoting multiple and diverse perspectives, on the other. If compatibility between teacher candidates' and their program's discourses helps teachers successfully learn to teach, then what does a teacher education program do when the teacher candidate's perspectives about teaching for social justice are not in keeping with the general ideas of the teacher education program? How can a program promote social justice and support a range of perspectives? As I argue below, if the emphasis in a teacher education program with a commitment to social justice is, in fact, on the complexity and the tensions of teaching, rather than on a set of general beliefs about teaching for social justice—such as meeting students' needs or respecting diversity--then there should be no conflict between the mission of social justice and the diversity of the teacher candidates' perspectives.

In addition, this issue of compatibility raises important questions about the relationships between teacher education programs and the K-12 schools with which teacher education programs partner in their preparation of new teachers. "Goodness of

fit" may relate not only to the relationship between the candidate and the teacher education program but also between the program and the K-12 schools where teachers work. In fact, in one of the interviews with a faculty member at Hill, the professor described his own frustration with some of the schools where his student teachers worked in their student teaching or went on to work as first year teachers. He explained that, in a way, he would like to keep the s teacher candidates out of some of these schools. He elaborated:

> It would be really nice for people to be actually out there in outstanding classrooms, working with outstanding teachers. Not just watching them, but actually getting to participate and think about these things. One of my colleagues…used to say, ' We should keep them away from the schools.' And there's a sense in which I believe that's true because they learn far more about being acculturated into the schools than they do about pedagogy out there in the practicums. Teaching and learning are often beside the point.

This excerpt suggests that there may be a major chasm between the discourses of teacher education programs and the discourses of some K-12 schools. This was a concern that was reflected in several faculty members' interviews as they spoke about the challenges they faced in preparing teachers for schools that, particularly in the current accountability context, enacted very different visions of schooling than those the professors themselves embraced. Here I simply raise the question because it represents a major issue for pre-service teacher education to resolve: What role does the teacher education program have in preparing teachers for schools as they are versus how teacher education faculty might like them to be?

Redefining Success

I do not want to conclude this discussion of the two teachers before I revisit their very different trajectories. In many current discussions about teacher retention and attrition, "retention" seems to be defined as a freshly minted teacher beginning to work in a school after completing pre-service preparation and then staying in that same school over time. However, for both of the teachers in this dissertation, the outcome was different. My analysis raises interesting and complicated questions about definitions of retention. For Elsie, in order to be successful in a second or third year teaching, it might have required her to leave her initial school and secure a position at a school where she could have had more support and guidance to develop beliefs and practices in ways that were more complicated, but still compatible with her entering vision.

On the other hand, my analysis characterizes Lola as more successful than Elsie, and yet Lola worked in four different schools in the four years I followed her. By some definitions of teacher retention, this would qualify Lola as a kind of failure. However, in Lola's case, moving from school to school seemed to be important to her successful ideological development as a teacher for social justice. In fact, in my final interview with Lola for this dissertation study, she was in the middle of her third year of teaching and in her third teaching job. Although she explained that she intended to stay at her current school, she described the past several years as very important to her development as a teacher for social justice—she believed that her exposure to a range of schools, different students, and different approaches had deepened her understanding of the complexity of teaching and moved her from rather naïve ideas about what was possible to more balanced and nuanced understandings. Therefore, in keeping with recent work that

suggests that we need to rethink the teaching trajectories of teachers and adapt to the current generation, Lola's case suggests that it might be reasonable to reconsider our ideas about retention.

Lastly, the literature about learning to teach generally assumes that learning to teach is a complex, tension-filled, and ongoing process. Nearly 20 years ago, Deborah Britzman (1991) critiqued most teacher education programs for their failure to provide teachers with the tools to deal with these tensions. She argued that constructing the problem of learning to teach as one of preparedness or ill-preparedness neglected the "contradictory realities" that new teachers face and "neither illumine[d] the turmoil of learning to teach nor assuage[d] the deeply personal dissonance engendered by the circumstances of being there" (p. 222). Britzman's argument appears to continue to be relevant to teacher education. In other words, many practices in teacher education, perhaps in spite of a philosophical recognition of complexity, may promote discourses that ignore contradiction and multiplicity in favor of promoting particular ideological perspectives and teaching practices. In so doing, teacher education programs with a social justice agenda may fail to live up to some of their loftiest goals.

When the goal of the program is specifically to prepare teachers for social justice, it might be reasonable to argue that the stakes are even higher than in other programs, since the tensions and contradictions have to do with competing notions of equity and justice. As such, programs committed to social justice may need to make the tensions explicit and prepare teachers so that they come to see these tensions as both unavoidable and productive for their learning and their practice. However, it was not at all clear that the teacher education program that Elsie and Lola attended was set up to aid new teachers

in negotiating this process. Their experiences in their courses and their supervision suggested that the idea of embracing tensions and negotiating complex ideas was neither well coordinated nor explicit in the teachers' process of learning to teach in a social justice oriented program. In fact, in some instances—as I suggest in Elsie's case in particular—it seemed that, whereas faculty expressed in interviews that they believed that the goal of social justice raised complex issues and challenges, these ideas may not have been what students took away from their coursework. Thus, instead of the program effectively conveying the complexity of social justice, teacher candidates may have understood general ideas and basic goals, without questioning the complexity, or even the compatibility, of some of these goals. This did not mean that the teachers did not explore these tensions on their own, but it seemed that the teacher education program might have done a better job of preparing them for this ideological struggle if it had been more successful in conveying a nuanced and critical perspective on social justice.

Reconsidering Teacher Education Research

In addition to the contributions this dissertation makes to teacher education that is committed to social justice goals, it also makes two important contributions to research in teacher education. First, this dissertation contributes new theory to work that has drawn on ideas about discourse, especially work in teacher education research that has employed Bakhtin's theories to investigate learning to teach. In addition, the study provides evidence that longitudinal investigations of learning to teach, that draw on a range of data sources over several years, are critical to our understanding of what it means to learn to teach and to be successful in the classroom.

Redefining Discourses and Embracing Complexity

As I explained in Chapter Three, Bakhtin's theories of discourse and ideological becoming are useful in studies of learning to teach particularly because he suggested that ideological development is a complex and ongoing process. However, the teacher education research that draws on Bakhtin often neglects the complexity that is central to his theory. This dissertation attempted to draw on and adapt ideas from Bakhtin to inform theory about how people learn to teach in more complex and nuanced ways.

Bakhtin's theories have become quite popular in education, and specifically in teacher education, in the last few decades. His conception of ideological becoming as a process of negotiating among competing discourses has been particularly appealing to teacher education scholars. This is likely the case because those who study teacher education are interested in how the various contexts of learning to teach influence teachers, their practices, and their students. Yet, there has been a tendency in some educational research to oversimplify Bakhtin's definitions of discourse and ideological becoming. In particular, some researchers have failed to recognize how complex and tension-filled the process of ideological becoming truly is. Others have not acknowledged the relative power and authority of teacher education and K-12 schools in the teacher's process of learning to teach. In these omissions, an essential aspect of the framework described in this dissertation is missed: learning to teach is a complex, ongoing, and non-linear process of negotiating various discourses, not all of which are experienced by the teacher in the same way. Furthermore, when the focus is on learning to teach for social justice, these discourses are often passionate, compelling, and in conflict with one another.

Some researchers have focused their work on identifying and naming the various discourses new teacher encountered as they learned to teach. Investigating these discourses is useful to understanding the context in which new teachers learn, and the complex historical and social influences on their learning. However, as my analysis of the cases in this dissertation suggest, simply tracing the presence of various discourses does not adequately account for the relationship between new teachers and these discourses or how the new teachers negotiate the process of developing an ideological perspective.

For example, Marsh's (2003) study of learning to teach drew on Bakhtin's ideas about the role of competing discourses in constructing a teaching identity. She carefully charted the dominant discourses of the teacher education programs and schools where two new teachers began their careers. In investigating these discourses, she reached back to look at the social and historical roots of the particular discourses and the way they were enacted in faculty or school-based colleagues' comments, in coursework, and in various school cultures. In this careful analysis, Marsh's attention was on how discourses (of race, of developmental ability, of class, etc.) played out in the environments of teacher education programs and K-12 schools. I found this analysis provocative and it inspired my choice to attend to the presence of several discourses as well. However, she directed less attention toward how the new teachers struggled with and responded to these discourses.

In fact, Marsh did not make ongoing distinctions between discourses that served as authoritative for a teacher and those that became, over time and through struggle, internally persuasive. Rather, she used the term "appropriation" many times to refer to the way that teachers responded to particular discourses. She seemed to suggest that the

teachers did not considerably adapt, modify, or transform these discourses as they sought to create their own teaching identity. Thus, the teachers' own struggles with these discourses were not explored. Yet, data from my own study suggest that the relationship of teachers to these various discourses--including the power associated with the various discourses of teacher education and the schools, and the struggle teachers undergo as they negotiate these discourses in their ideological becoming--that raise many interesting questions about teachers' success in negotiating the process of learning to teach.

Whereas Marsh focused almost entirely on the authoritative discourses of teacher education and K-12 schools, other researchers have attempted to explore the role of internally persuasive discourses in teachers' process of ideological becoming. However, they have simplified Bakhtin's definitions in ways that do not acknowledge the complex relationship of new teachers to the discourses they encounter as they learn to teach. This is perhaps most striking in Ball and Freedman's (2004) chapter in their own edited book about Bakhtin and literacy learning. In her description of her work in South African teacher education, Ball (2004) argued that the ideas about language and diversity that her South African teacher candidates seemed to embrace from their own schooling were strongly influenced by an authoritative discourse of the state. By contrast, Ball referred to the readings and ideas to which the students were exposed in her course as internally persuasive discourses. She did not acknowledge how her own position of authority as a professor and her own strong views about these issues might influence the students' emerging ideas. In other words, the discourses Ball promoted were undoubtedly privileged in her classes. Thus, students' reactions to these discourses were not entirely free of consequences, either perceived or real.

In his review of recent educational research that has employed Bakhtin's theories, Matusov (2007) critiqued Ball's claim that the development of her case study teacher candidate was a good example of ideological becoming because she appeared to embrace the discourses to which she was exposed in Ball's course. He asserted Ball's study lacked evidence that the teacher actually engaged in critical investigation of these ideas rather than simply incorporating them into her assignments and written work. He therefore suggested, albeit tentatively, that all that was evidenced in Ball's chapter was "uncritical indoctrination" into the "professor's authoritative discourse" (p. 230). In other words, Ball's description of the teacher's development failed to recognize the tension-filled process of negotiating these competing discourses, many of which student teachers encounter as powerful and persuasive discourses from the program, professors, or culture. Rather Ball assumed, perhaps because the discourses were internally persuasive to her, that her student's apparent embrace of these discourses indicated that she too found them persuasive. This may be true, but Ball's description—in contrast with Cochran-Smith's (1995) study of teacher candidates' experience of the discourse of race and social justice constructed in her course, described in Chapter 4—did not acknowledge her own position of authority and how that might have influenced the teacher candidate's apparent embrace of her particular ideological position. Ball's description also showed little evidence of the struggle associated with a process of critical investigation and negotiation that is essential to ideological becoming. Again, my data—particularly in Lola's case—suggest that this process is full of struggle, modification, and adaptation if the discourse is to become truly internally persuasive.

Other educational scholars have similarly employed Bakhtin's work without considering the profound tensions new teachers may encounter as they are exposed to the discourses of their programs and professors. For example, Gomez, Black, and Allen's (2007) article about the ideological becoming of one teacher candidate described a steady progression toward greater understanding and awareness of race and racial identity. Similar to Ball's work, the authors described how the teacher candidate's previous beliefs and ideas were challenged and transformed as a result of her experience in teacher education. They explained that her preexisting "ideological positioning and conceptions about race and teaching came into contact with and often collided with opposing ideologies and voices—coming in the form of course texts and open discussions with her peers" (p. 2124). Yet, the description of this candidate's experience did not suggest "collision" of ideas as much as it captured a steady progression toward the views expressed in the program. The authors explained that the program "provided her with rich and complementary theories and ideological positions with which to ground her practices and correspond with her evolving vision of the world and how it works" (p. 2128).

The idea that the program "provided her" with theories to complement her "evolving vision" seems to miss a major point that emerged from my analysis--the process of ideological becoming is about working through different discourses and making sense of them as they relate to one's own pre-existing beliefs, experiences, and contexts, and then applying them to the context of the K-12 schools where teacher work. Therefore, tidy pictures of the ideological development of teacher candidates fail to examine the tension-filled and complex process of ideological becoming that Bakhtin imagined. In addition, similar to Ball, the authors did not discuss how the program's

message might have functioned as a kind of authority for the teacher candidate as she learned to teach.

This is particularly interesting because the authors described "a shared social language" (p. 2112) and considerable consistency among faculty members' approaches and ideology related to race and equity, despite the complex and contentious issues these topics inevitably raise. In fact, the authors concluded from their research that, "Program cohesion is critical" (p. 2133). Yet they did not question the implication of cohesion regarding such complex and nuanced issues (i.e. a party-line, group think, etc.). The authors failed to investigate the impact of this program "cohesion" on students' experience of the program and students' evolving understandings of race and equity. In other words, could this "cohesive" discourse interfere with teacher candidates' authentic investigation of the complex and nuanced issues they might encounter as they seek to blend the program discourse with their own prior discourses and the discourses they encounter in their schools?

Questions such as the ones above are critical for teacher education to explore and ones that this study attempts to raise. As my analyses of the cases in this dissertation demonstrate, there was not as much program cohesion as described in the study above. In fact, as interviews with faculty suggested, different faculty interpreted the discourses of social justice in somewhat different ways, depending on their own research and the courses they taught. However, there were particular ideas that the teacher candidates came to see as part of the essential programmatic discourse of social justice. For example, the program's dominant discourse of race and equity, which Elsie interpreted as working with urban students, presented some challenges to her own developing discourse. If

Elsie's coursework had emphasized more explicitly the goal of working to eliminate bias and promote tolerance among all students, including suburban White students, perhaps she might not have felt so much need to equivocate about the choice to teach for social justice in a suburban school. In fact, if the discourse of race had matched more closely her teaching experience, as I discuss above, she might have had more success sustaining that goal.

The Need for Complex, Deep, and Long-Term Research

My own analyses as well as some of the work cited above make clear that Bakhtin's dichotomizing of authoritative and internally persuasive discourses has led to some misapplication of his ideas. Perhaps because Bakhtin's definitions are more rigid than what makes sense in understanding learning to teach in contemporary American society, there is a tendency to oversimplify his definitions in ways that ignore the complex relationships teacher candidates have to the discourses they encounter as they learn to teach. However, Bakhtin's theory still provides a useful way of investigating the process of learning to teach. Thus, the conceptual framework offered in this dissertation attempts to solve some of the problems associated with drawing on Bakhtin's theories by modifying his definitions of discourse to make them more applicable to the context of learning to teach. As described in Chapter 4, the introduction of what I call "intermediate discourses" allows for the fact that teacher candidates/graduates have a somewhat more nuanced and evolving relationship to the discourses they encounter than represented by Bakhtin's two categories of discourse permitted. However, the framework presented in this dissertation retains Bakhtin's central focus on the social nature of discourse, the roles that power and authority play in these discourses, and the complex and ongoing process

of development that occurs as teachers negotiate these many discourses. In the next section, I revisit the framework and describe what the two cases, when considered together, suggest about the process of learning to teach in a social justice-oriented program.

As I wrote in the opening chapter of this dissertation, despite the increased attention and scrutiny that teacher education for social justice has received in recent years, we know little about what it really looks like to be prepared in a program with a stated social justice agenda. Thus, this study set out to describe, in detail and over time, the process of learning to teach for two teachers prepared in such a program. As cited at the beginning of this dissertation, Cochran-Smith and Fries (2005) asserted that, "Some of the most exciting and potentially influential research on teacher preparation is that which examines and untangles the relationships between teachers' knowledge and beliefs, their professional skill and performance in classrooms, and their pupils' learning" (p. 100). This kind of research requires multiple data sources, considerable depth, and a significant length of time.

The study described here, based on almost four years of data, was able to capture the experience of learning to teach over time, which includes the complex and changing perspectives that new teachers develop as they struggle to teach in ways that promote justice. The depth of analysis presented in this study was enabled by this long time period. This calls into question research that focuses on the process of learning to teach based on data from only one semester or one year, or research that relies only on interviews with teacher candidates instead of observations, interviews with others, and analysis of artifacts and documents. In fact, the cases described in this dissertation

indicated that, in some cases, the ideas that the teachers sustained throughout the teacher education program changed considerably once they began teaching or that, despite what they said about their practice, their teaching could look quite different from what they reported. If I had not had the benefit of several years and a wide range of data, I would have described very different teachers and my understanding of what it means to learn to teach for social justice would have been much less sophisticated.

This suggests that future research about learning to teach that attempts to "untangle" the complexity of the process of learning over time will benefit from more longitudinal designs and a wide range of data sources and multiple perspectives. It is important to note that research like this does not lend itself to simple answers or solutions. In this era of accountability, and in a time when teacher education is under considerable scrutiny, the desire is to measure all things—even learning to teach for social justice. It is my hope that this study makes clear that some ideas cannot be so easily "measured."

It is also important to acknowledge the larger context in which research on teacher education committed to social justice is embedded. Teacher education is certainly not immune from the influence of the current master narrative of accountability, which, as I discussed in the opening chapter of this dissertation, demands a fairly narrow version of measurable outcomes as evidence of success for students, teachers, and schools. Therefore, teacher education that promotes complexity, tensions, and the lack of simple answers—the kind of teacher education that I suggest is more in keeping with a social justice perspective—contradicts this perspective. With the master narrative of accountability linked to considerable financial and material resources, teacher education

is under pressure to make the case that even the loftiest and most complex goals may be measured in fairly straightforward ways. Therefore, this particular pressure on teacher education serves as a very real constraint for new teachers' learning in ways that promote a complex and nuanced understanding of social justice.

Yet, preparing teachers to teach for social justice is perhaps more important now than ever. As I describe in the first chapter of this dissertation, the current challenges that schools face are profound, and demand complex and sophisticated responses. Preparing teachers to face these challenges requires that they have a range of skills and the capacity and interest to continue learning throughout their professional lives. At its best, I suggest that teacher education programs committed to social justice can prepare teachers with the intellectual, practical, and affective skills that they will need to be successful. However, this is not about a set of standard practices, or even a particular set of beliefs. Rather, in the current climate, and in an effort to respond to the ever-changing realities in schools, teachers prepared to teach for social justice will be teachers who are prepared to face challenges, to analyze them, and negotiate the complex and nuanced world of teaching. As teacher educators, it is an act of justice to prepare teachers in this way.

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APPENDIX A: CHART OF EMPIRICAL STUDIES OF TEACHER EDUCATION FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE

	AUTHOR	METHOD	SAMPLE	RESEARCH QUESTIONS	FINDINGS
1	Achinstein & Ogawa (2006)	Qual: longitudinal case studies of two teachers; interviews with teachers and principals, other new teachers in the school, and colleagues, superintendent; 6 classroom observations, surveys of other new teachers in the district	n=2 new teachers	What is the influence of organizational context on teacher socialization? (question of larger study from which these cases are drawn)	Resistance to mandated reform can arise from deep commitments, and have individual costs. Nature of the participants' resistance was rooted in values of a professional role for the teacher. The current system of mandated curricula and accountability doesn't allow for real critique. At best, tinkering is permitted. Novices need a sense of community in resistance.
2	Adams, Bondy, & Kuhel (2005)	Qual/Program Study: Interviews	n=19 (3 groups, A: right after mentor experience-6; B: 1 year after-7; C:toward end of program-6)	How do preservice teachers respond to the unfamiliar experience of participating in a mentoring program in a housing project at the beginning of TE? How do they respond at different points in time following, and what factors influence their responses?	Responses were categorized as follows: resistance, heightened awareness, conscious openness, knowing children as learners, cultural responsivity, insights into oppression, passion and commitment. Factors that seemed to make a difference were (a) prior knowledge and experiences with diverse populations; (b) opportunities for scaffolding/mediating the experience.
3	Athaneses & Oliveira (2007)	Qual.: 5 focus groups of graduates of TEP with focus on diversity & equity (larger study is 5-yr self study of program based on analyses of program documents, interviews with TE faculty, portfolios, surveys, interviews & focus groups.	n=38 graduates of program, >1/3 were teachers of color, mostly Mex.Amer., taught 1-3 years and worked primarily in low-income urban and rural communities; 5 focus groups of 5-10 members	What are participants conceptions of advocating for equity? In what ways did (and did not) the program prepare them for this? In what ways have schools impeded and supported their efforts?	Two convictions drove participants--a need for equitable, fair treatment for students, and a responsibility to act. Fairness grounded in caring for students and conviction that all students should have access to learning opportunities, resources, and support. Impediments included competing demands on teachers' time and energy and the issue of risk, and as acts moved beyond classroom, risk increased (fear of enemies or job loss). Connection to TE: tchrs cited reinforcement in coursework and supervision conferences of a caring and proactive stance to support students' learning, and faculty and supervisors modeling of a focus on individual students. Of particular relevance to advocacy beyond the classroom, many teachers cited (a) attention in coursework and seminars to acting on behalf of learners rather than complaining about problematic school circumstances, (b) learning to engage co-advocates among school leaders. But, "teachers reported little preparation in learning ways to manage confrontation with other educators when conflicts arise regarding issues of equity" (133)

4	Au & Blake (2003)	Qual.: Interviews and course papers	n=3 cases; 1 Japanese American & 1 Hawaiian with middle class background; 1 Hawaiian with lower class background from community where all teachers in program are placed	What is the influence of teachers' cultural identity, including ethnicity, social class, and community membership, on the perspectives and learning of preservice teachers?	One of the researchers taught three of the students' courses, so there are several themes in common, probably stemming from professor's emphases. Two Hawaiians referred to being Hawaiian and perpetuating Hawaiian culture as important; Japanese-American emphasized being a good teacher for all without noting the Hawaiian identity. However, the two Hawaiians had different ideas about their cultural identity, as a function of their different social class. The middle class one had "a positive but rather sentimental view" whereas the other "was uncertain about her identity as a Hawaiian in a conscious sense, although her lifestyle reflected certain customs" (p. 200). Authors suggest that the two teachers not from the community may have benefited more from the practical experience in the school whereas the one from the community may have benefited more from the opportunity to explore theories in coursework.
5	Burant & Kirby (2002)	Qual./Program Study: field notes, weekly reflective papers, action reports, interviews, focus groups	n=26; 16 white females, 7 Latinas, 1 AfAm female, 1 Native American male, 1 white male. All were admitted to the program soon after a restructure to admit more diverse candidates.	What is the nature of the experiences of preservice teachers in an "educative practicum" (Zeichner, 1996) that pushes the boundaries of early field experience beyond classrooms into an urban school and surrounding community? What sense did preservice teachers make of their experiences in the school and community?	Following categories of experience: deepening multicultural (5), eye-opening and transformational (7), masked multicultural (6), partially miseducative (5), escaping (3). The first two are fairly self-explanatory, the 3rd category described students who remained solidly interested in teaching white, middle-class students but their involvement as "good students" served to mask these beliefs during the course Common understandings gained: (1) came to believe that all children can learn and deserve the best; (2) those who interacted with parents gained greater understanding of parents and were convinced that majority of parents were doing their best to make wise decisions for their children; (3) community can be a fruitful resource for gaining knowledge about students and understanding contextual factors. Demand more creative partnerships btwn schools and univ. and a progression of experiences, linked to coursework, to spend time in communities. Additional entrance criteria to ensure that those with the appropriate dispositions teach.
6	Cho & DeCastro-Ambrosetti (2005)	Quant.: attitude survey; 17 demographic questions, 25 Likert scale items; post-survey had open-ended questions as well	n=25 secondary ed pre-service teachers in MCE course; 18 completed pre and post survey; 56% male; 44% female; equally distributed among majority/minority ethnic groups	What was the effect of a multicultural education course on pre-service teachers' attitudes about the experiences, needs, and resources of culturally and linguistically diverse student populations, as well as the value pre-service teachers place on multicultural education?	Majority of respondents indicated that attitudes toward working with diverse student populations were positively influenced by class; increased awareness, understanding and appreciation for other cultures; those whose attitudes didn't change stated that class helped support positive attitude they already had. Open-ended responses indicated that some felt ill-equipped to teach CLD students and fear of being rejected by minority students; also some evidence of contradictory views--majority of respondents still felt that home and family lack of value in education responsible for low academic achievement.

7	Chubbuck & Zembylas (2008)	Qual.: case study of one novice teacher graduate of program with SJ focus; observations, interviews with teacher, dept. chair and 10 students; documents of student work, participant's journal	n=1, Sara, white 23 year old 1st year teacher, graduate of Jesuit university in midwestern city	How are emotions and teaching linked in Sara's vision and practices for and about social justice? How does Sara struggle to navigate the ambivalent emotions of teaching for social justice? What are the implications of Sara's emotional struggles? How can an analysis of emotions in socially just teaching practices contribute to a theory and praxis--in essence, a critical emotional praxis--that is transformative for teachers and learners?	Sara's strongest commitment was to SJ with teaching perceived as a vehicle for achieving SJ. Initially focus was on content but began to see relationships with students as an aspect of SJ. The gravity she assigned to teaching for SJ made her feel like a failure and her anxiety increased until she sought help--ultimately, she "shifted her conception of the locus of agency to accomplish justice from the collective to the individual. In this move, she claimed that doing justice must first flow from the core of a just being in relationship to others..." She also "shifted from a global to a local focus..." Yet, "The emotional culture of schools may not support all the goals of socially just teaching" (309). There is also emotional ambivalence associated with socially just teaching.
8	Clarke & Drudy (2006) (IRE)	Quant. (part of larger mixed-method): questionnaire re: attitudes toward diversity	n= 128; 22% male, 78 % female (for larger cohort of 195); majority had no formal teaching experience	What are student teachers' general beliefs and values about social justice issues, and do these attitudes link to approaches to teaching?	Values that are broadly inclusive in relation to general diversity issues; 18% held view that too much is being done for foreigners at expense of native Irish; 14% agreed that people belonging to some races were not suited to live in modern society; 29% agreed that many foreigners come to Ireland to abuse the welfare system; 36% agreed that tolerance can be taken too far--despite general agreement, when issue is of immediate concern, much greater variation. Preferred teaching strategies were largely conservative and traditional-- in ranking of teaching activities, those who prioritise academic achievement ranked formal lessons higher than independent work, developing pupils' interests, and involving pupils in current issues.
9	Cochran-Smith, Albert, et al (1999)	Qual./Self Study: faculty self study, using transcripts of conversations, field notes, documents from the several meetings over two years	n=faculty of TE program	What happens when diverse TE faculty meets over time to try to develop shared understandings about teaching for social justice, particularly what are their common and divergent constructions of the concept? How are relatively abstract understandings of social justice put into practice (or not) in the day-to-day business of teacher education, including curr.. dvpt., course instruction and assessment of students' learning as well as student/faculty recruitment, retention, advising, and mentoring? What issues related to research emerge from collaborative self-study, especially what are the ethical/methodological issues related to data collection/analysis, confidentiality, power relationships, and voice?	Findings are first that trying to define social justice as starting point would have backfired and led to splintering so accepted varying definitions and emphases for social justice and investigated individual understandings and how these are and can be instantiated in policy and practice. In general, although there were issues of safety considering the natural power dynamics in a faculty, there were also valuable conversations that allowed participants to understand one another better (the power of talk) and challenged participants to rethink their practice and generally led to SJ becoming a common centerpiece of the program, leading to redefining the main themes, and the use of a common template across all syllabi that emphasizes these themes. Also led to greater emphasis on hiring a more diverse and SJ focused set of new faculty (emphasizing this in the hiring process).

10	Cochran-Smith, Shakman, Jong, Terrell, Barnatt, & McQuillan (2009)	Qual./Program Study: data from interviews over 1.5 years, classroom observations, course work, TC papers	n=12 & then 3 case studies	How do teacher candidates in a program with a stated social justice agenda understand the concept and how does it play out in classrooms and in learning opportunities for students?	Teacher candidates believe that social justice means that learning "is the bottom line"; their experience did not feel like indoctrination and there didn't seem to be one message about social justice however, very few referred to critiques of the larger structures that support inequities; candidates saw their role as "making a difference" in the lives of students and in the classroom and were skeptical about greater social change. Beginning teachers do talk about and enact a commitment to social justice, but mostly at the individual level. This may be a good starting place and, over time, their perspectives may turn to larger efforts and issues.
11	Flores (2007)	Qual: 4 case studies of new teachers, interviews, observations, interviews with faculty, school colleagues, and 10 students in each class; teacher and student work samples	n=4 new teachers (2 first and 2 third year teachers), all graduates of same MAT program with explicit commitment to SJ, expressed in a critical multicultural approach; selected the teachers because peers and faculty said they stood out for their commitment to SJ (exemplars)	How does teacher education for social justice influence new teachers' identities and practice in urban schools? How does the school's context influence teachers' identity and practice? How does a situated view of learning and development inform efforts to develop educators able to teach for social justice?	Five contradictions: (1) the new teachers ideal images of teachers and teaching contrasted with realities prevalent in schools; (2) new teachers had student-centered approach to individualization for student success vs. the schools' medical model of diagnosis, label, and treatment; (3) challenge that testing and accountability presented to their constructivist approach; (4) tensions between newcomers and old-timers--expectation of students different. "But realizing the inequity that existed in the schools and the society, and experiencing it through the lives of their students, led them to question whether their work would really make a difference. For these teachers, the questioning eroded their idealism, confidence, and sense of purpose" (398). Argues for moving from creating agents of change to working more directly in schools to create communities of change.
12	Freedman & Johnson (2003)	Qual./Course Study: data from response journals, written assignments, observation and field notes, student self-evaluations.	n=116 graduate and undergraduate preservice teachers. Only included data from white students (which includes most of the number here)	What responses do teacher education students produce when asked to address issues of social justice, specifically issues of class, race, and gender in relation to young adult lit? What can professors learn about addressing issues of social justice in TE courses by using young adult lit with their students?	White, female, middle class participants could address issues of race and class but did so somewhat superficially and from the dominant perspective. They did not reposition themselves to see things directly through others' experiences and stuck closely to the novel context. Seemed hesitant to confront their own beliefs. Learned that we need to be more deliberate and pointed in facilitating students' explorations and challenge them to confront their complacency and delve more deeply.
13	Garmon, M. A. (2004)	Qual.: 1 case study, based on series of interviews (10+ hours) with undergrad	n=1; 22-year old white female teacher candidate from midwestern rural town	What factors make a difference in the positive multicultural development of a particular teacher candidate?	Three dispositional factors: openness to diversity; self-awareness/self-reflectiveness; commitment to social justice. Three experiential factors: intercultural experiences; support group experiences; educational experiences

14	Gomez, Black & Allen (2007)	Qual.: interviews w/TC & w/faculty & staff who taught her, and 1 TC, over 4 semesters	n=1 Alison, white, well-prepared, prospective science teacher	How does this prospective teacher understand her identity as a White person? What relationship does she understand that this identity has to teaching students who are from many different cultural backgrounds? What kinds of dilemmas arise for a prospective teacher when she begins to understand who she is as a White person? How does she negotiate them? What role does her teacher education program play in encouraging and supporting her negotiations?	Draws on Bakhtin as a theoretical framework, and idea of ideological becoming as a process punctuated by critical moments that lead person to reorganize, strengthen, or alter systems of thinking (2109). Describe a shared social language in the program "best characterized as one oriented to critical self-reflection, interwoven with close attention to issues of social justice and equity" Provides four critical incidents--(1)North High School much more diverse than her own and her experiences. Initially talked about difference and diversity in terms of race and says that race is a non-issue because she doesn't see explicit conflict or trouble; (2) emergent awareness of curriculum and instruction relevant to all; (3) comes to see building bridges between school learning and students own experiences and interests as important; (4) realization that she has to reach out to kids because her whiteness is a barrier; also realization of race as a social construction and TEP challenged her to realize that she learned certain racial stereotypes and they can be unlearned.
15	Hoffman-Kipp (2003)	Qual.: case study of one TC, two interviews and 10 TE seminars taped and transcribed	n=1, Karen, Latina TC in seminar that focused on critical dialogue linking coursework to field experience	How do preservice teachers develop a political consciousness and cultural sensitivity in their teaching? How are preservice teachers learning processes rooted in social encounters with other peers; mediated by artifacts provided by their TEP, their prior beliefs and identities; and reflected in the perservice teachers' changing participation over time during their participation in the student teaching seminar?	This substudy focuses specifically on the politics of language. Karen comes to think about language as related to power and status--the conversations allow for a deepening of understanding about students. Conclusions have to do with CHAT and CP--generally, argues for perspective of teachers as researchers and as members of a social movement.
16	Hyland & Noffke (2005)	Qual./Program Study:	n=198 preservice students (data from them); study is self study of authors' teaching, mostly young, female, White students.	How do students understand and act on community inquiry based assignments?	Students (a) see themselves in relationship to historically marginalized groups, (b) identify structural inequality with regard to services and voice, c) develop a sympathetic understanding about people from historically marginalized groups (eye-opening), (d) identify the relationship between the inquiry assignments and their future roles as teachers. Course components that support these understandings: (a) meeting people from marginalized groups in contexts led by those people, (b) examining the experience of "others" in the context of historical and political information, (c) deconstructing inquiry experiences with small groups and within larger class discussion. Also, important that they say that the "choices" they offer may serve to allow those in hegemony to avoid challenge, people of color don't "choose". Also question the "tourism" aspect of the work.

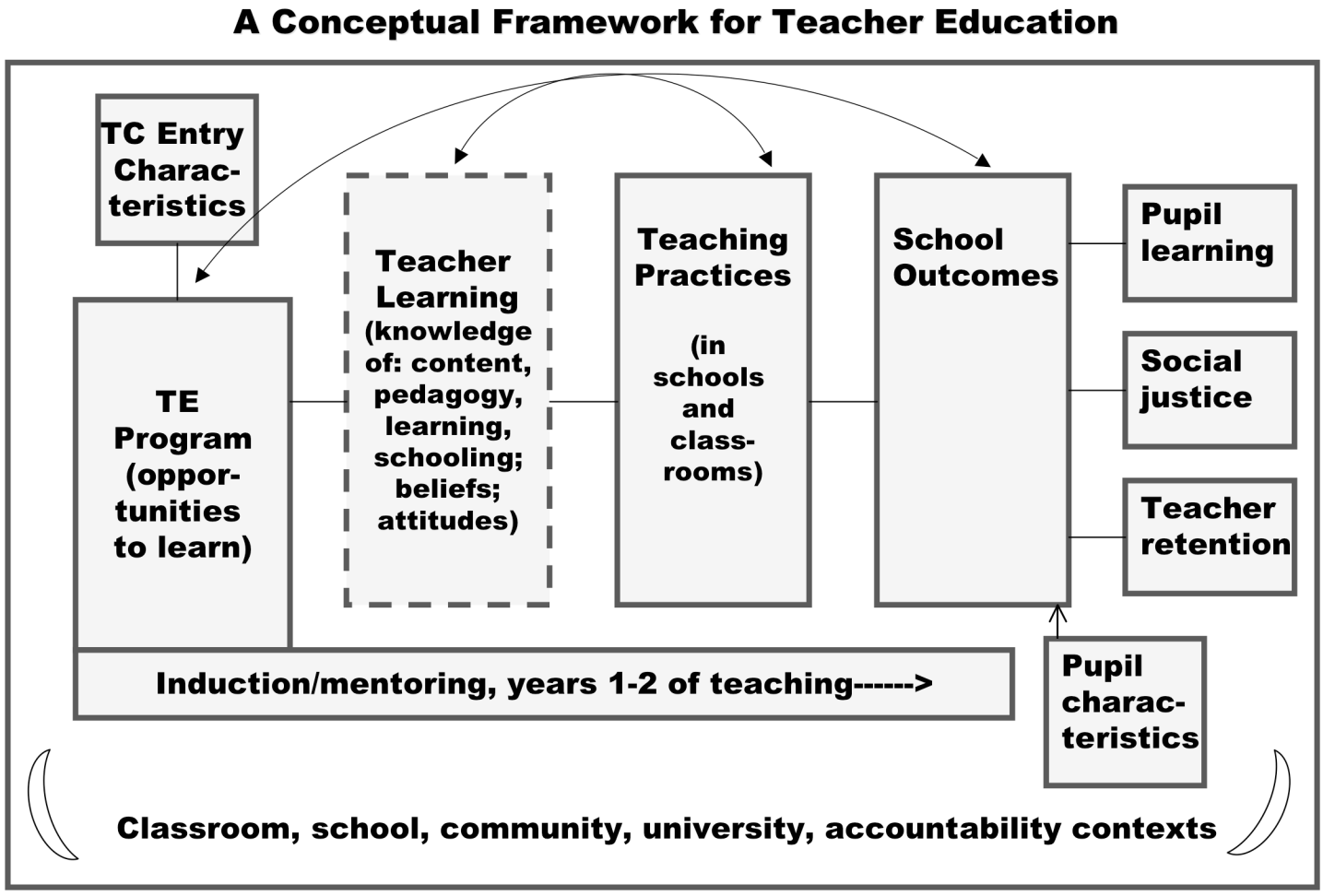
17	Johnson (2007)	Qual.: life history interviews	n=10; case study of 1 is bulk of article; teachers who saw themselves as characteristic of teaching profession and who saw themselves developing teaching stance grounded in SJ	How did teachers experiences with literacy and cultural diversity inform their developing ethics toward social justice teaching?	An "ethics of access" was a stance participants took toward teaching for equity. Julie, preservice teacher, is focus of article and her ethics of access is traced through life story. She developed an "emergent ethic committed to ensuring that students have access to adequate and diverse literacy resources" (308) and author draws from this the need to make more explicit the commitments of SJ and complicate ideas about access and sociocultural factors.
18	Lenski, Crumpler, Stallworth, & Crawford (2005)	Qual./Program Study: data from PDS-based field experience--student field notes, reflections, study groups, final paper	n=34 preservice teachers in yearlong PDS (31 females, 3 males); all classified as Euro-American but a few identify in addition as Korean, Mexican, Greek	How did the "Beyond Awareness Research Project" prepare participants for working in high-need schools? What habits of mind regarding understanding and valuing students' cultures did it promote? How did it lead to recognition of the need to consider cultures in teaching practices? (note: no clear research questions defined--this is culled from the article)	Generally, by using ethnographic methods to listen to community, preservice teachers began to interact with different perspectives; many expressed that the experience "opened my eyes" to their students' culture in ways that might inform their teaching and that they might approach learning about their students using such a lens.
19	Levine-Rasky (2001)	Qual: 3 case studies drawn from larger pool of 35; for the 3, 2 interviews & observation	n=3 preservice teachers, 2 women and 1 man; only one represents the kind of teacher who embraces MSRE	What are the signposts of a progressive multicultural social reconstructionist prospective teacher? (note: no clear research questions defined--this is culled from the article)	Prospective ME personally identifies with educational inequality or social injustice; values critical ped and MSRE (multicultural social reconstructionist ed); want to learn more about educational inequality and its causes
20	Lewis (2001)	Qual./Self Study/Course Study: Foundations of Education Course. Collected essays, journal entry, email dialogue, one 90 min. interview	n=10, white middle class pre-service sophomore students	What are college students' perceptions of social justice? How have educational and life experiences of students affected their perceptions of social justice? How does participation in an undergraduate social foundations course influence students' perceptions of social justice? What are the students' beliefs about the connections between teaching and social justice?	Focus is on one student, Emily, and how her consciousness is raised over the course of the semester. She writes that reading Kozol is a "real eye-opener"; and author concludes that the content of social foundations course raises the consciousness of some preservice teachers. But the challenge is how to empower them so they become change agents. Calls for more communication between different faculty in TE to create more consistent foundation for applying theory to practice.
21	Lloyd (2007)	Qual.: case study of one teacher candidate; observations of math instruction, 4 interviews	n=1, Bridget, preservice teacher in elementary program. Focus is on math instruction	How does a teacher candidate learn to teach/negotiate teaching in a high stakes testing environment? (note: no clear research questions defined--this is culled from the article)	Drawing on Lacey's (1977) social strategies, and adding Sikes, et al (1985) idea of strategic compromise, the teacher's social strategies are examined. Her experience is mostly characterized as one of strategic compromise in which she held onto many of the practices one might characterize as culturally responsive teaching despite a climate that promoted a scripted and high stakes approach.

22	Long (2004)	Qual.: 2 groups of teachers, one group of new teachers and one of experienced	n=7 new teachers in 3 year study + 5 experienced teachers in 3 year study. Separate studies	What happens to new teachers as they work to maintain and build on convictions developed in preservice programs? How do practicing teachers feel about their opportunities to sustain continued development as thoughtful, knowledgeable professionals?	Three barriers to maintaining convictions and growing professionally: (1) lack of consistent, high quality support for new teachers (need for administrative support at school, support from other teachers, and systematic ongoing support from university)-related to this is the alienation new teachers experience when they want to challenge status quo; (2) Limited, long-term, research-based professional development available to experienced teachers; (3) testing frenzy that pushes teachers to abandon beliefs in drive to teach for test success, despite knowledge that theory and practice contradicts this drive. This is found to be depressing and demoralizing for the new teachers.
23	Lynn & Smith-Maddox (2007)	Qual./Program Study: Field notes of monthly meetings based on inquiry	n=14 preservice teachers, 7 white, 4 Mexican American, 3 Asian-American, all women.	How do you explicitly and consistently link theory and practice within teacher education programs where student teachers critically analyze the social, moral, and political dimensions of teaching while developing subject matter expertise or pedagogical content knowledge?	Inquiry has the "propensity to transform social relations in the classroom and to raise an individual's level of consciousness about relations in society, which have inherent benefits for the individual, the classroom and the school community; Inquiry helped them confront their own biases and to consider critical perspectives; there was an active engagement between participants about their values, ideas, and shared concerns with teaching practices."
24	Martin (2005)	Qual./Course Study: assortment of excerpts from students' assignments over 10 years	n=?	How might we best educate future teachers to comprehend the relationship of social class to power and success in American institutions?	Critical action research that incorporates an MCSR approach helps students investigate issues of inequality in their own environment, encourages them to take action, conceptualizes culture and identity as complex and dynamic, and uses classrooms and communities as laboratories.
25	McDonald, M. (2005)	Qual/Quant..: comparative case study of two teacher ed programs with SJ commitment; interviews, observations of TCs and faculty interviews & observations + survey data	n=10 prospective teachers, 5 from each program	How do teacher education programs implement social justice in an integrated fashion across the entire program (e.g. including university courses and field experiences)? What do prospective teachers' opportunities to learn about social justice look like in such programs?	The programs intended to integrate social justice, but the implementation of social justice varied in practice in the two programs. In general, they integrated SJ concepts more than practices. Opportunities to learn varied based on the conception of social justice on which the opportunity rested, and there were three broad categories--individual, organizational, and institutional conceptions of SJ. In general, programs increased awareness about oppressed groups but did not improve teachers' capacity to use awareness in practice. In addition, teachers' clinical experiences mediated their opportunities to learn.
26	McDonald, M. (2008)	Qual.: Case study of two TEPs with SJ focus.	n=10 prospective teachers for focus (3 interviews per teacher), but collected data on programs as whole, courses and placements--interviews with students and faculty (22), observations of univ. courses (67) and teachers' placements (1x/each), review of documents	What types of assignments are required in an effort to provide prospective teachers with opportunities to learn about SJ? What kinds of opportunities do course assignments provide prospective teachers to develop SJ principles and practices? In what ways do field placement experiences shape the opportunities provided by course assignments?	TEP assignments generally focus on individualized learner approach to SJ when the assignments connect to practice. When the assignments relate to larger sociopolitical conditions and structural issues in schools, they do not explicitly link to practice. The kind of field experiences students engaged in influenced how they responded to the SJ-practice assignments. In short, when assignments connected coursework to prospective teachers' experiences in the field, they tended to emphasize a concept of justice that focused on the needs of individuals. In contrast, when assignments drew prospective teachers' attention to larger structural inequities and institutional concerns, they were disconnected from practice.

			(syllabi, assignments)		
27	Munter (2004)	Qual/Program Description: Selected excerpts from students, school personnel, community members (Participatory action research)	n=?	What is the experience of participants in a particular teacher education program, grounded in the setting and context of the US/Mexico border?	Programs of field based study that prepare teachers to work effectively in immigrant communities, engaging parents and families creatively, hold great potential for creating new relationships between schools and non-mainstream communities.
28	Quartz & TEP Research Group (2003)	Qual/Quant/ Program Study: retention data and two surveys, one phone, one electronic	n=307 graduates, 1997-2000 for retention data; n=233 for first survey; n=64% and 52% of 326	Research question not entirely clear but generally interested in what sorts of communities of practice nurture and support social justice educators, as well as retention rates and experience of graduates of Center X (and compared to nat'l stats)	Selection bias may be at play because they actively recruit TCs committed to social justice, from diverse backgrounds who want to work in urban schools; 70% of Center X grads remain in classroom after 5 years, compared to 61% nationally; 17% of those who had left classroom were still working in public education; Only 13% of graduates focused on a deficit perspective when asked about frustrations in classroom and many more referred to structural inequities and social neglect of urban schools; High level of self-efficacy--82% said they contributed to the learning of other adults; the retention can be attributed to "the extensive network of supports and a solid understanding of pedagogy" (105)
29	Romo & Chavez (2006)	Qual./Program Description: essays from field work experience.	n=48 essays of mostly Euro-American female preservice teachers	What is the experience of preservice educators as they examine and reconstruct their personal and professional identities in border communities (in the field work experience)?	Students were under-prepared to deal with the complexities of border regions and to function as effective teachers in those diverse areas; first exposure to multicultural environment--ongoing juxtaposition of the classroom theory with experiential learning helped them to embrace new professional identities; eye-opening; learned about meeting individual needs in classroom (and author links this to being advocates)
30	Sevier (2005)	Qual/Quant./Self-Study: 1 semester of social foundations course: data included course questionairres and completed coursework; videotapes of class meetings, faculty's personal journal	n=? 1 class of students	What happens when I transform my teaching practice from one that focuses on educational scholarship as self-evident truth to a focus on experiential and inquiry-based learning in a social foundations course? (note: no clear research questions defined--this is culled from the article)	Despite seminal readings, students were unable to see that public schools "embodied and perpetuated inequities" making the course content seem removed and outdated. Recognized that he employed a "banking approach" in having them read Anyon and Kozol--wanted them to accept the scholarship without their own experience. By bringing in students and social justice educator from local school, students in his class were able to accept the presence of inequities; eyes were opened and course changed to focus on inquiry into the inequities among 4 local schools. Advances a conceptual framework that asserts that culturally relevant teaching and the teacher as a transformative intellectual as appropriate to preparing preservice teachers to work for social justice; need for teacher educators to continuously interrogate effects of their experiences on classroom practice; provide models of socially aware practices we hope teachers will undertake.

31	Taylor & Sobel (2003)	Qual.: 5 open-ended questions on survey, coded and categorized	n=62 preservice teacher participants in PDS; predominantly white Euro-American, monolingual English, female, raised middle- to upper-middle class; ave. age:=30.5	What elements of curriculum and pedagogy do preservice teachers identify as affecting their knowledge and ability to provide effective instruction in multicultural, multilingual, and inclusive classrooms?	Preservice teachers found value is (a) guided exposure to 'real-world' cross-cultural interactions in PDSs, (b) observations of theory-practice applications in coursework and PDSs c) observations and interactions with clinical teachers; 80% described impact of 2-semester methods course with integrated/interdisciplinary curric.; need for more explicit modeling of what we're asking them to do; importance of building rapport with students, teachers, and parents; CT is person who teaches them how to teach--what are programs doing to support and mentor CTs?
32	Urrieta, L. (2007)	Qual.: ethnographic interview/life history interview	n= 24 Mexican Americans; (1) undergraduates intending to teach; four groups of 3 men/3 women: (2) K-12 teachers; (3) Graduate students in Education Programs; (4) Professors of Education all identified as Chicano/a activists	How are Chicano/a activist identities produced, conceptually and procedurally?	Important "local figured worlds" for producing activist identity in college/univ.: ethnic student org., courses, work-related training in ethnic/multicultural org., peer groups, orientation programs for poor/minority students; Personal history in terms of (1) religion, (2) past experience of oppression, (3) family relations; (4) context predisposed people to become activists; Activities that produce the identity: (1) intellectual engagement; (2) activist rites of passage; (3) leadership; (4) raising consciousness (tching for SJ)--this led many to teaching in their home communities; Implication for TE: more active recruitment of Chicano students; more exposure among ed. students to ethnic studies
33	Wiggins, Follo, Eberly (2007)	Quant./Program Study: pre- and post-survey following experimental field experience	n=62, preservice and substitute teachers. Three groups, 1 semester group (A), 2 semester group (B), and sub teachers in cert. program are control group (C).	To what degree does the comfort level of preservice teachers in culturally diverse urban schools change as a function of the nature and length of a specifically designed field experience? How do white, upper-middle-class females compare to individuals who are from the same culture as their students and have spent time in urban schools with regard to comfort level and readiness?	The more experience reported correlated with feeling ready to provide positive classroom experience in culturally diverse setting; The full year group had comparable level of comfort with teaching in a multicultural classroom and interacting with parents to Group C and much higher than A. Both A and B changed significantly over time but B showed greater change. The increased amount of time the B group spent in the school had impact on their comfort and readiness. Important that even when the course is on site, if the field is confined to the classroom, students may not get a sense of their place in a culturally diverse community (661)

APPENDIX B: BC TNE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK



APPENDIX C: QCS INTERVIEW PROTOCOLS

Interview 1-11 with participants

Auxiliary Interviews with Cooperating Teachers, Supervisors, Principals/Administrators, and Mentors

Interview 1 - Personal History and Education Experience

Background: Educational experience
Let's begin our conversation by talking about what brings you here to BC.

1. Why did you choose BC for graduate school? What do you hope to learn about teaching while you are here?

Probe: What are your expectations for the program and learning environment at BC? What do you think the program will offer?

Probe: How long has it been since you graduated from undergraduate college? What have you been doing since graduating?

2. Describe your college education? Where did you go? Why? What was your major in college? Why?

Probe: What incidents or experiences stand out during your college years? For example, were you active on student organizations or political activities on campus?

Probe: Did you work through college and/or did you have financial aid?

3. Describe your past school experiences.
   A. Let's start with your secondary school experience.

Probe for context—was it a small or large school; an urban or suburban, parochial–single sex? Would you say it was diverse? If so, how?

Probe: What was the school like at the time you were there? For example, some people were in school during times of major change, such as during school integration, the merging of two high schools, or witnessing a shift in population in community, leading to increased diversity in the school, OR there were also some local changes such as a new teacher or administrator, a different tracking or grouping system, or a change in courses.

   B. Now tell me about your elementary school experience.

Probe for context—was it a small or large school; an urban or suburban, parochial–single sex? Would you say it was diverse? If so, how?

Probe: Again, what was the school like at the time you were there?

4. How did you experience school as a student?

Probe for their experiences as learners-- So if an individual responds about the social aspects of schooling, ask them how they experienced school as learners?

Probe: What was your most memorable experience? Were you involved in extracurricular activities? If so, what type of activities were you involved in?

5. Now, I want to switch topics a bit to talk about what brings you to teaching. When did you first start thinking you might want to teach? Why are you interested in teaching?

Probe: Did you consider becoming a teacher while you were an undergrad? Why or why not?

Probe: for their intellectual interests and the perspective they hold as a student. For instance, many of the elementary candidates mention their love of reading and children. Try also to discover what the person especially enjoys about school or about learning.

6. You're planning to teach _____ (elementary or high school) is that right? When you think back to your own experience in _____(elementary or high school), what stands out to you?

Probe: for specificity: What do you mean? Can you give me an example of that? Is there anything else you remember?

If the teacher candidate does not mention one of the following: You haven't mentioned (much about) _____. Do you remember anything in particular about that?"

- what you learned
- your teachers
- how you felt about different subjects

Probe (Elementary folks): How do you think an individual best learns to read or to write?
Probe (Secondary folks): How do you think an individual best learns _____ (history, English, science, math)?

Probe: Do you think you received a good education? Why or why not?

Background: Beliefs:
7. A part of our research focuses on individuals' ideas, beliefs and experience as they relate to teaching and learning. At BC, one of the stated purposes is to prepare individuals to teach for social justice. What does that mean to you?

Probe A: If teacher candidate says that he/she does not know what teaching for social justice is, move on to question 9.

Probe B. If teacher candidate gives an answer to the social justice question, ask: So, how do you think that plays out in _____ (reading or math: elementary folks) or (history, English, or science: high school folks)?

8. As you think about your future profession, what do you believe is/are the role(s) of the teacher?

Probe: Think of a teacher you have known. Are there things you admired about this teacher? Things you would like to have changed?

Probe: From your perspective, what are the top two or three challenges that teachers face today?

Background: Knowledge

9. Now, think about the content areas you will be teaching as an elementary or high

school teacher. What do you think are your strengths and weaknesses in the content

area(s) you might have to teach?

Probe: What are you hoping the BC program will provide in terms of your preparation? (**Note:** This can focus on fears and concerns if it hasn't been covered OR it can be skipped if it was thoroughly discussed.)

Probe: Now think about the range of things a teacher does. What might be your strengths? What areas might you need support?

Background: Practice (Future plans)

10. What are you looking forward to in your Student Teaching Practicum? Is there anything you are concerned about? What challenges do you think you will face?

Probe: How will you prepare yourself for these challenges?

11. When you think about next year, where do you see yourself working? Where would you like to teach?

Probe: Talk to me about what you hope your classroom will be like? How will you teach? What will your relationships with students, faculty, and parents look like?

12. In conclusion, we'd like to get some information about your background, especially your demographics. (**Note**: Make references to prior responses to pull pieces together. Continue probing so we don't receive a mere list.)

Probe: For example: your age, race, ethnicity, cultural background, language, religion and political orientation?

Closing Remarks:

Is there anything else you'd like to share that we didn't cover?

Interview 2: Pre-practicum Experience
The focus of this interview is on your pre-practicum experience. We will meet again in January to talk more about your coursework at BC in the first semester. For this interview, I would like to learn about how your pre-practicum went, what you learned, what you struggled with, what impact the experience has had on your ideas about teaching, etc.

Practicum Experiences
1. Let's talk about your practicum. Describe a typical day at your practicum.

Probe: How have you found the structure of the pre-practicum?

Probe: What is your role in the classroom?

Probe: What is the school environment and community like?

Probe: Is the environment different from other places where you've been a student or volunteer/aide?

Probe: Do you observe teachers teaching in all subject areas (for elementary)?

2. Tell me about you Cooperating Teacher? (Age, Race, Ethnicity, years teaching, teaching style, etc.) What is the role of the cooperating teacher in shaping your practice and philosophy?

Probe: Would you describe a particular lesson you observed that was note worthy? Why?

Probe: How do you think your CT knows what to do next?

Probe: How do you think your CT knows if the kids are learning?

Probe: What types of classroom assessments does your CT use? Formative/summative? In what ways do assessments reflect the instruction?

Probe: Every teacher has strengths and weaknesses; can you tell me about those with regard to your Cooperating Teacher? Are there things you have observed and would do/wouldn't do? (specific content areas)

Probe: Do you and your Cooperating Teacher have similar teaching philosophies? Explain. (N.B. You want to understand what the teacher candidate's teaching philosophy is—skip if you have gotten at this in Question 2)

Probe: Do you think your Cooperating Teacher has the same ideas about teaching and learning as your BC Professors? Why or why not? Do you consider this a problem?

Probe: What advice have you gotten from your Cooperating Teacher? How has your Cooperating Teacher helped you in understanding teaching? How has he/she helped your understanding of pupil learning?

3. OK, let's move from your CT to your Supervisor; tell me about your Supervisor? (Age, Race, Ethnicity, years teaching, teaching style, etc.) What is the role of the Supervisor in shaping your practice and philosophy?

Probe: What advice have you gotten from your Supervisor? How has he/she helped you in understanding teaching? How has he/she helped your understanding of pupil learning?

Probe: What would you say are your Supervisor's strengths and weaknesses?

Probe: Do you and your Supervisor have similar teaching philosophies? Explain.

Probe: Do you think your Supervisor has similar ideas about teaching and learning as your BC Professors? Why or why not? Do you consider this a problem?

Probe: So, I understand that all of the pre-pracs in this school meet together with the supervisor at the school once a week? How's that been?

4. So we've talked about all the grown-ups…the other important people here are the kids. Tell me about the Students in the classroom?

Probe: What is their role in shaping your practice and philosophy? (Ask about the child study pupil if relevant)

Probe: Diversity (ELLs, SPED, SES, Ethnicity)? How would you describe their experience in school? Do they enjoy it? Why or why not?
If elementary: How is the weekly read aloud going with your ELL pupil?

Probe: Tell me about the lessons you taught. How did they go? What did you learn? (Insert here a question about something you observed in a classroom. For example, a unique method, approach, visual aide).

Probe: Some people say the most important thing about any lesson is whether the kids are learning. What do you think they learned? How do you know?

Probe: What are you learning about how children learn? How does this influence your perspective on the role of a teacher?

Probe: Can you describe a particular learning moment you observed that was note worthy? Why?

Probe: What advice have you gotten from your pupils? How have the pupils helped you in understanding teaching? How have they helped your understanding of pupil learning?

Overall Questions

5. Have you observed examples of teaching for social justice in your pre-practicum experience? Please describe them.

6. Are you making connections between what you're learning at BC and what you're experiencing in your practicum?

7. Based on your pre-prac experience, what would you say are the most important skills and knowledge for teaching?

8. How have your practicum experiences thus far influenced your ideas about teaching?

Probe: Based on the practicum, have you changed your plans on where and how you'd like to teach? Explain.

Interview 3
2005 Summer & Fall Courses

Please fill table before interview.

Methods Courses	Foundations Courses	Content Courses

Last time we met we focused on your pre-practicum experience. Today's topic is your coursework so far at BC.

General Course Experiences

1. Generally, how have your courses gone so far?

Probe: What have you enjoyed about these courses so far?
Have there been any surprises?"

Probe: Can you give me some examples of anything that has been particularly interesting or helpful?

2. Foundations courses are generally used to give people the broad overviews of learning and schooling: broader contexts of children, schooling, and curriculum. Did you find the courses to be valuable in terms of providing that? In what ways? **(Specify what courses we are referring to)**

Probe: Do you think the foundations courses helped you understand the realities of schools today?

3. Methods courses are intended to prepare you to gain strategies to teach specific subjects. What skills and knowledge did you acquire from your methods courses? (Examples?)

Probe: Did they meet your expectations? If not, how might they have better met your expectations?

Probe: Some people say the most important thing to learn is classroom management. Do you agree?

Probe: How did the methods courses help your knowledge of the content?

Probe: Often a lesson in a methods class will demonstrate a teaching strategy which also includes content material. Did these "model lessons" increase your understanding about the content (e.g., looked at content from new perspective, etc)? Were they equally helpful for both strategy and content?

Elementary—How did the methods courses relate to each other?
(e.g. math, science, literacy, and social studies)

Secondary—Have you taken any courses in Arts & Science?
Was the course valuable to you in terms of pedagogy, broadening content knowledge, curriculum, and assessment?

Probe: What have you learned about bilingual students? Students with special needs?

4. Now let's talk about the teaching in the methods course? How would you characterize your methods professors' approaches to teaching?

Probe Do you think they modeled the kind of teaching they advocated (practiced what they preached)?

Probe: Do you think the faculty structured their courses around the realities of schools today?

Probe: Did the methods faculty explicitly address issues of social justice? If so, how?

Probe: What did you learn about pupil learning? (ways of learning, etc…)

Probe: What did you learn about assessment? (ongoing/formative & high-stakes; pupil learning)

5. You said you were hoping to learn about_____, has that been the case? Are there any gaps that remain in your coursework?

Overall Questions

6. Are you making connections between what you're learning at BC (methods, & foundation courses) and what you experienced in your pre-practicum? How? Examples?

7. When we first talked in the summer, I asked you a question about your definition of teaching for social justice. How do you see it now?
Has your definition changed? If so, why?

Interview 4 with Participants: Full-Practicum Experience

1. Let's talk about your practicum.

Probe: What's the school environment and community like?
Probe: What pressures and issues do teachers face in the school? What pressures do students face? (e.g. test scores, safety, race issues, etc.)
Probe: How are student teachers viewed? What's your relationship to other colleagues in the school?
Probe: How have things changed from your pre-practicum? (if relevant)

2. What's your role in the classroom?

Probe: How much teaching have you done so far? What have you been teaching? What haven't you been teaching?
Probe: Do you have any other responsibilities? How much freedom have you had in what and how you teach?
Probe: How are you approaching planning? Are you co-planning?

Only if the participant has a new CT:
3. Tell me about your cooperating teacher? (race, age, ethnicity, years teaching, teaching style, etc.)

Probe: What are you learning from her/him?
Probe: How do you think your cooperating teacher knows students are learning?
Probe: What types of assessments does your cooperating teacher use (formative, summative?)?
Probe: In what ways do assessments reflect the instruction?
Probe: Do you and your CT have similar teaching philosophies?
Probe: Do you think your CT has the same ideas about teaching and learning as your BC professors? Why/why not? Do you consider this a problem?
Probe: Has your CT helped you improve social justice and/or equity in your teaching?

4. Tell me about your clinical faculty supervisor? Is s/he different from the person you had for your pre-practicum (race, age, ethnicity, years teaching, teaching style, etc.)?

Probe: What role is your supervisor playing in your practicum experience? (mediator, moral support, academic advice and content support)
Probe: What does your supervisor focus on in her observations and feedback? *(if nothing, remember to ask about classroom management?)*
Probe: Has s/he helped you provide strong academic content?
Probe: How has s/he helped you help pupils to learn?
Probe: Has your supervisor helped you improve social justice and/or equity in your teaching?

Probe: Do you and your supervisor have the same approach to teaching practices?
Probe: Do you think your supervisor has the same ideas about teaching and learning as your BC professors? Why/why not? Do you consider this a problem?
Probe: I understand that the BC full practicum students in this school meet as a group with the supervisor once a week. How has that gone? What kinds of issues have you discussed?
Probe: What are the other ways that you and your supervisor communicate about the classroom teaching experience? *(ask this if it's not touched on earlier in the interview)*

5. We've talked about the adults; the other important people are the kids. Tell me about the students in your classroom(s).

Probe: What are you learning from the students about being a teacher?
Probe: What is the diversity in the classroom? (ELLs, SpEd, Ethnicity?) What's that have to do with what and how you teach?
Probe: How do you think the kids in your classroom would describe their experience in the school?
Probe: How has your relationship changed with the kids over the course of the year?
Probe: In general, do you think the kids in the classroom are learning? What evidence do you have that they're learning?

> **Probe:** Now, let's talk about your teaching in relation to the students. I noticed that you…. (Insert something here that you noticed from their classroom: about a particular student, a group of students, a unique method, etc.)

6. In your own classroom and in the school, either in what you are doing or what the teachers are doing, do you see examples of teaching for social justice? In your own teaching, how are you addressing issues of equity and justice?

Interview 5: Pupil Learning

NOTE: Teacher Candidate needs to bring three sets of pupil work: a full class set of a cumulative assignment and two examples of tasks that led up to it. TCs also need to pick out one high, one medium, and one low example of pupil performance for the cumulative assignment. Finally, have the teacher candidate bring any rubrics she or he used to score these assignments, as well as any assignment description that the TC gave to the pupils.

The purpose of this interview is to see what you are thinking about pupil learning and how it relates to your own instruction. First, I will ask you a series of general questions about the assignments you brought, then we'll get into the specific student examples you have selected as high, medium, and low. Finally, I'll ask you talk about your inquiry project.

1. First, let's take a look at the assignments you brought. As a way to walk me through this work, it might be helpful for you to start at the end with the cumulative project and work backwards. Or you might want to start with the first task and move chronologically to the end, the cumulative task.

Probe: How does it fit into a larger unit?

Probe: Was this something you devised yourself?

Probe: Was any part of this lesson from a preexisting lesson that you adapted?

Probe: Why did you decide this lesson/assignment/assessment would be appropriate? How much autonomy did you have in creating the lesson or assignment?

2. What did you want students to get out of this activity**?** How do you know whether or not students accomplished what you wanted them to get out of this activity/lesson/unit?

Probe: How did you evaluate these assignments (rubric, scoring, etc.)?

3. Is there anything you would change about this lesson or assignment or unit? What? Why?

4. Let's now look at your examples of a high, a medium, and a low-level response? Why did you choose these three examples? Tell me about the students who did this work (ELL, Special Ed, anything else?).

Probe: How do these samples compare to the overall class? (Is this work representative of the class? Is this what you expected?)

General Pupil Learning Ideas

5. What do you do to address the range of abilities in your classroom?

6. How do you know if your pupils are learning? What counts as evidence for learning?

7. Of course, teachers are not just interested in their pupils' academic learning; they are also very interested in their social and emotional development. Do you see your students making progress socially and emotionally? Like what?

Probe: How do you know if pupils are making this kind of progress?

8. Are you able maintain high expectations when the pupils have a variety of learning styles and needs? If so, how? If not, why?

The Inquiry Project

10. What was your Inquiry Question? What did you collect as data for your question?

11. What important insights did you get from your inquiry project concerning pupil learning?

Probe: While doing your inquiry project, what surprised you about students' learning?

Probe: How will the results of your inquiry project influence your practice as a teacher?

12. What would you categorize as social justice insights? Why?

Probe: How will you incorporate these insights into your own teaching?

13. While it is unlikely you would jump right into an inquiry project as you start your first year of teaching, what inquiry skills do you imagine using in your classroom practice?

Probe: Do you see yourself doing a formal inquiry project again in the future?

Interview 6 – End of Teacher Education

This is our last interview for the year, so it will include an overview of what you have learned through the year and the influences that have been most significant. We will also talk about your future plans and then, at the end of the interview, give you an opportunity to provide us with some feedback about the program.

First, we'll talk about the learning overview: Specifically, we'll be looking for information about how you may have changed personally and professionally, your understanding of the role of a teacher, about teaching and learning, and social justice – and the most important influences that have shaped this experience.

I. Learning

I'd like to start with a set of questions about what you learned during this year in your teacher education program…

1. You've been in schools for almost a year and have finished your full-time student teaching, Some people say they ended up learning as much about themselves as they did about students or teaching methods teaching during this period. What would you say you have you learned about yourself?

- **As a Teacher?**
- **As a Learner?**

2. What did you learn about teaching/the activity of teaching? What's the hardest thing? What's the easiest? What most surprised you?

3. What has had the greatest impact on this learning?
(Probe: What about—depending on their answer—your practicum experience, teacher education courses, A&S courses, your peers?

We're going to shift the focus a bit here and talk about some of the themes and concepts that pervade the program:

Let's start with the idea of pupil learning.

4. What's the most important thing you'd say you've learned about teaching reading/mathematics (for elementary)? _____ (specific subject) for secondary)(be specific for secondary)?

- **How/Where/From whom did you learn that? What was the biggest influence on your learning? Who or what played the biggest role? What role did the courses play?**
- **What have you learned about teaching about literacy in the elementary school? Math?**

- **What have you learned about teaching bilingual students/ELLs? How/Where/From whom did you learn that?**
- **Which content areas do you feel the most/least prepared to teach?**

All through BC's teacher education program, there's been a lot of talk about social justice. We asked you about this in the first interview, as you might remember…

5. As you complete your teacher education experience, what do you make of this idea of Teaching for Social Justice?
- **Has your definition changed?**
- **What impact did your practicum experiences have on your understanding of TSJ?**

6. Did you have any strong models of teachers for social justice (either at BC or at your school site)?
- **What made them good models?**

7. How do you see yourself teaching for social justice in your own classroom?

8. Can you talk a bit about what you understand is the purpose of schooling? Where has that been highlighted in your program?

II. Moving Forward/Your future:

Okay, let's look ahead, now. In this section we'd like to talk about your future…
- **What are you planning on doing next year (for benefit of the interview transcript)?**
- **Do you plan on teaching in the future?**
- **How has your experience in the past year impacted your career choice?**

9. First, how is your job search going?
Will you be around this summer? Do I need to update contact information? Are you planning on taking part in BC's mentoring program?

10. When you imagine yourself teaching next year, what do you see?
- **What will your classroom be like?**
- **What will be the biggest challenges?**
- **What do you expect to be most prepared for?**
- **How do you think MCAS and NCLB will influence your teaching?**
- **Professional goals as a teacher?**

11. Do you think about teaching as a career? What do you see yourself doing in the next five years?
- **Ten years?**

III. Program Feedback

Finally, we'll give you the opportunity to tell us more specifically what you think about the BC program….

12. If you could change three things about the program, what would they be? Was there anything irrelevant in the program?

13. What three things would you keep, that you found especially valuable in the program?

Interview 7 – November of first-year of teaching

Introduction:
Now that you've been in the classroom for a few months we're going to ask you some questions that brings us up to date on your school setting and students, how you've settled into teaching, return to a few familiar themes in our research, and then ask just a bit about the future.
We'll start with some general questions about your school and schedule.

Let's start with a look at the school itself, your students, and the people you work with:

1. Tell me about your school…how would you describe it?

Probes:

- What kind of resources do they have? Or lack?
- What are the population demographics?
- Are parents involved in the school?
- What kind of goals does the school promote? Is there a mission statement? If so, do both faculty and students buy into it?
- Is there anything major that has happened at the school (AYP problems, new principal, new curriculum they have to use, construction)
- Is this a very different setting from your prac experience(s)?

2. Let's shift to your students for a bit. I'd like you to describe them to me. Can you start with some general demographics that describe the pupils in your class(es)?

Probes:

- Age, ethnicity, language backgrounds, SES
- SPEd
- ELL
- Range of abilities across the group(s)
- Did you get some of this information from teachers who had these students previously? Did you have prior experience with any of these pupils?
- How would you describe classroom dynamics? Do you have difficulty with certain students or a particular class?
- What is the biggest challenge you have faced so far this year?

3. "At this point in the school year, are you able to identify goals for your students?"

Probes:

- What do you want them to learn? (consider academic, social, and emotional possibilities, here)

I'd like to return to a question that has been a theme throughout the interviews:

4. We talked about learning to teach for social justice many times last year. We are interested in the realities of how this plays out in practice.

Probes:

- Do you think about issues of social justice in your classroom?
- In your planning?
- Do feel that teaching for social justice is an explicit part of your classroom experience at the moment?
- How might this be particular to the context of your school? Classroom?
- How practical is the BC emphasis on social justice for a novice teacher?
- Has your view on teaching for social justice changed over the first few months of fulltime teaching? If so, how and why?

5. We've talked about this before, but now that you're fully responsible for classes, I'd like to have you think about it again: How do you know your pupils are learning? Be specific about the way you get this kind of information …

Probe:

- Has this changed in anyway since your prac? If so, why?
- Has the inquiry played a role in how you look at your classes?

6. How about the other adults in the school. What kind of relationships have you been able to develop with school faculty & staff?

Probes:

- Principal, department head, fellow teachers
- Is there a lot of interaction among faculty?
- Do you have the opportunity to co-plan or co-teach?

7. Do you have an assigned mentor or participate in an induction program? If so, has this been a successful match?

Probes:

- Are there other people that might be seen as informal mentors or part of your network of support – including friends and family outside of school?
- Did you attend Summer Start? Why or Why not? Describe your experience. Was it valuable? How would you change the program?

Let's spend a few minutes talking about your immersion into fulltime teaching.

8. In general, how do you feel things have gone in the past few months?

9. What is your workload like?

Probes:

- What is your schedule? When do you get in to school? What time do you leave?
- For secondary – number of preps?
- For elementary – breaks?
- Additional school duties (ex: study hall, cafeteria duty, extra-curriculuar activities?)

10. Tell me about planning…when do you get to do this? How do you decide what to use? What to teach?

Probes:

- What resources do you have? Use? Where are they from?
- Are you focusing on day-to-day planning or do you have a long-term plan to work from?
- What strategies/resources have you utilized from your master's program?

11. How did you plan for this topic that you assessed here (look at the pupil work that the teacher brings to the interview)?

- Why did you choose to assess your students using this assignment?
- How would you change it if you were to do it again?

12. Do you see yourself as having a great deal of autonomy in your classroom?
(If teacher asks what you mean by 'autonomy' can say 'when some people talk about autonomy they refer to the role of standards, district mandated curriculum or exams, whether you feel you have a voice in deciding what is taught in your classroom)

Probes:
Why/why not?
In what area do you have most/least autonomy?
Who or what influences your decisions in the classroom?
Is MCAS a driving force in what you do?

Let's look at how well prepared you feel and what you attribute to the BC experience:

13. What did you feel prepared for? Not prepared for?

Probes:

- Is there anything that you feel BC did not prepare you for?
- Is there any one thing that you feel especially well prepared for by the BC program?
- Does your school provide support through PD for what you might not feel prepared for?
- Where might you turn for additional support/knowledge?
- Do you feel prepared to work with the population of students in your classroom? (ELL, SED, etc)

14. Is teaching what you expected it to be? Have your aspirations for a career in teaching changed?

- Do you think you'll teach next year?
- In this school? For how long?

15. Is there anything that we haven't touched on that you feel is especially important to include in this conversation?

Interview 8 – February-March of first year of teaching

NOTE: Teacher needs to bring three sets of pupil work: a full class set of a cumulative assignment and two examples of tasks that led up to it, all from same student. Teacher also needs to pick out one high, one medium, and one low example of pupil performance for the cumulative assignment. Finally, have the teacher bring any rubrics she or he used to score these assignments, as well as any assignment description that the TC gave to the pupils.

The purpose of this interview is to see what you are thinking about pupil learning and how it relates to your own instruction. First, I will ask you a series of general questions about the assignments you brought, then we'll get into the specific student examples you have selected as high, medium, and low. Finally, I'll ask you talk about your inquiry project.

1. First, last time you were struggling with … (fill in here with something specific to your teacher; e.g. students not completing their homework; the discipline protocol at the school, etc.). How's it going now?

2. OK, let's take a look at the assignments you brought. As a way to walk me through this work, it might be helpful for you to start at the end with the cumulative project and work backwards. Or you might want to start with the first task and move chronologically to the end, the cumulative task.

Probe: How does it fit into a larger unit?

Probe: Was this something you devised yourself?

Probe: Was any part of this lesson from a preexisting lesson that you adapted?

Probe: Why did you decide this lesson/assignment/assessment would be appropriate? How much autonomy did you have in creating the lesson or assignment?

3. What did you want students to get out of this activity**?** How do you know whether or not students accomplished what you wanted them to get out of this activity/lesson/unit?

Probe: How did you evaluate these assignments (rubric, scoring, etc.)?

4. Is there anything you would change about this lesson or assignment or unit? What? Why?

5. Let's now look at your examples of a high, a medium, and a low-level response? Why did you choose these three examples? Tell me about the students who did this work (ELL, Special Ed, anything else?).

Probe: How do these samples compare to the overall class? (Is this work representative of the class? Is this what you expected?)

General Pupil Learning Ideas

6. What do you do to address the range of abilities in your classroom?

7. You have already talked about how you looked for pupil learning in your cumulative assignment. How in general do you know if your pupils are learning? What counts as evidence for learning? (Connect to question two or it may sound repetitive)

Probe: Has this changed in anyway since your practicum? If so, why?

Probe: Has the inquiry project played a role in how you look at your classes/students?

8. What kind of grading or evaluating system do you use? Are you happy with it?

Probe: To what extent do you have autonomy in this? Are there school or department guidelines about grades?

9. What kind of pupil data does your school district use in developing curriculum & instruction that might impact your class?

Probe: This might include MCAS scores; other standardized test scores; testing coming from, or contributing to IEPs and 504s; Student Success Plans (these are required for students w/o IEP or 504 that don't meet standards on other tests); portfolio or exhibit projects, district benchmark/tests, other?

Probe: Do you have access to this data on an individual or aggregate level to make plans for your classes/pupils?

Probe: Would you be part of the data analysis?

Probe: Do you feel BC has prepared you to be able to use pupil data, both formal, informal, standardized and teacher-developed to make decisions in your classroom? Do you do this?

10. Of course, teachers are not just interested in their pupils' academic learning, they are also very interested in their social and emotional development. Do you see your students making progress socially and emotionally? Like what? *(Note: levels of confidence, enjoyment of learning, engagement in learning, independence in learning, cooperative group work, classroom behavior, interpersonal interactions)*

Probe: How do you know if pupils are making this kind of progress? What evidence do you look for to determine social and emotional growth?

11. What kind of expectations do you have for students? Are you able maintain these expectations when the pupils have a variety of learning styles and needs? If so, how? If not, why?

12. How do you help students develop language abilities? (ELL, SpEd, Writing, Reading)

Probe: Would you call your classroom language-rich? Why or why not?

Experience in Classroom/School
Now let's touch base on how the year is going, now that you are about half-way through it.

13. What kinds of changes, if any, have you made based on your experience in the first half of the year?

Probe: For example, grading, classroom management, differentiated instruction?

Probe: Are there disciplinary or management expectations school-wide? In your teaching team?

Probe: Do you find yourself using any techniques gained from BC? From your practicum?

14. How have you handled classroom management so far?

15. How is the larger school context/culture playing a role in your classroom?

Probe: What contact have you had with the Principal/Dean/Mentor/Coach/etc.? Are you satisfied with the amount and nature of your interactions?

Probe: Have you been observed and evaluated? By whom? What kind of feedback have you received?

Probe: What contact have you had with parents? What role do they play in the school?

16. Are you participating in mentoring/induction? If so, what kind? Is it helping you professionally or personally?

Probe: Are there other people who might be seen as informal mentors or part of your network of support – including friends and family outside of school?

Probe: Are you attending any programs sponsored by BC? Are they valuable? How would you change them?

17. Some people say the first year of teaching is the hardest and find it difficult to find balance. How has your "quality of life" as first year teacher been so far? (Do you have a life?)

18. Do you see yourself working at the same school/in the same job next year?

Probe: If not, ask why. What would it take for you to stay?

Probe: If yes, ask what it is that is keeping them in the position.

INTERVIEW 9

This is our last interview, so it will include an overview of what you have learned, the influences that have been most significant, your thoughts on teaching, and your future plans. We will also talk about pupil work.
Remember to print out various charts, etc. before conducting the interview.

Pupil Learning
1. What's the most important thing you'd say you've learned about teaching reading/mathematics (for elementary)? _____ (specific subject for secondary) over the last year?

Probe: How/Where/From whom did you learn that? What was the biggest influence on your learning? Who or what played the biggest role?

Probe: What have you learned about teaching about literacy in the elementary school? Math?

Probe: Which content areas do you feel the most/least prepared to teach? How does this affect your teaching?

2. OK, let's take a look at the assignments you brought. As a way to walk me through this work, it might be helpful for you to start at the end with the cumulative project and work backwards. Or you might want to start with the first task and move chronologically to the end, the cumulative task.

Probe: How does it fit into a larger unit?

Probe: Was this something you devised yourself?

Probe: Was any part of this lesson from a preexisting lesson that you adapted?

Probe: Why did you decide this lesson/assignment/assessment would be appropriate? How much autonomy did you have in creating the lesson or assignment?

3. What did you want students to get out of this activity**?** How do you know whether or not students accomplished what you wanted them to get out of this activity/lesson/unit?

Probe: How did you evaluate these assignments (rubric, scoring, etc.)?

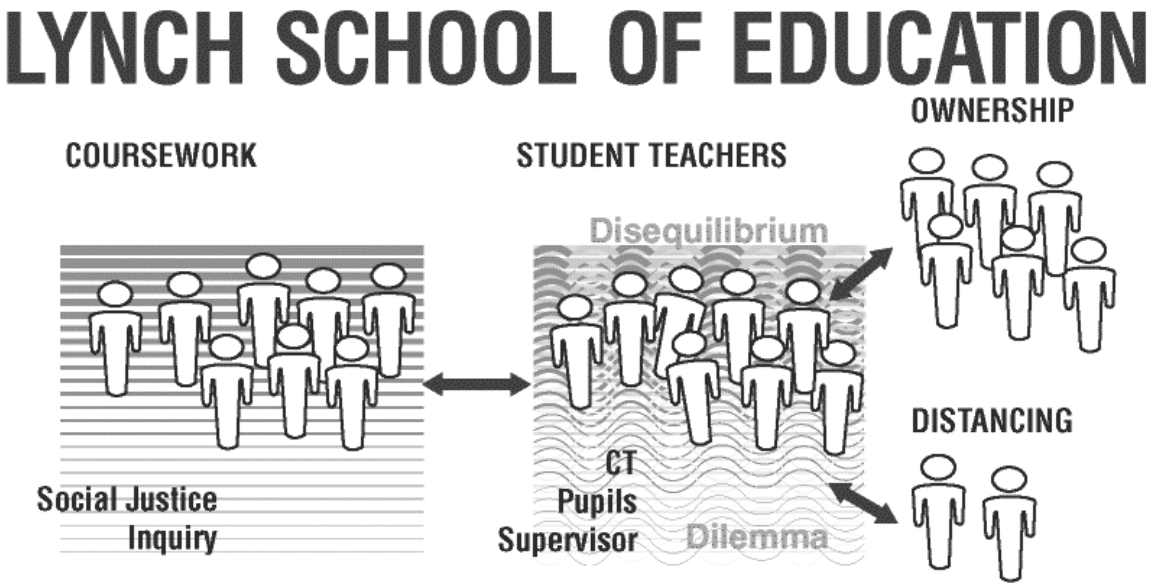
4. Is there anything you would change about this lesson or assignment or unit? What? Why?

5. Let's now look at your examples of a high, a medium, and a low-level response? Why did you choose these three examples? Tell me about the students who did this work (ELL, Special Ed, anything else?).

Probe: How do these samples compare to the overall class? (Is this work representative of the class? Is this what you expected?)

6. How do you feel your pupils did overall? Do you feel like they gained skills over the year? What? Were you satisfied/disappointed?

7. Our research group looked carefully at responses from last year's interviews that had to do with pupils' work and your assessments of their learning. We came up with graphic to try to explain what we found. The first box is supposed to represent teacher candidates' experiences during coursework, and the second what happened during student teaching. Overall we found that student teachers created great assessments that showed they had high expectations for pupils and focused on higher-order thinking. (refer to figure) We thought about this as "ownership" —student teachers actively changing strategies, questioning practices, and generally looking for better ways to improve learning in the classroom.
Does that sound to you like what was going on for you during student teaching? How about now, during your first year of teaching?



8. Another thing we found during the interviews when we asked teachers to talk about high-, medium-, and low-, pupil performance on the assessments, was that sometimes there was a kind of distancing. For example, if a pupil performed poorly on a test or a project, sometimes the student teacher attribute this to the pupil's lack of effort or his or her failure to pay attention and follow directions. This made us think a lot about how teachers make sense of it when pupils don't meet their expectations. Can you talk about this a little bit?

9. Do you think teachers should expect to meet the learning needs of every pupil in the class?

Social Justice

10. All through BC's teacher education program, there's been a lot of talk about social justice. We asked you about this in the first interview, as you might remember…As you are now completing your first year of teaching, what do you make of this idea of Teaching for Social Justice? Is it important to you in your daily work? Do you consider yourself to be teaching for social justice?

11. Show them the 4 categories/28 codes for Social Justice (see end of interview for chart) and ask: We looked at all the responses of participants from the pre-service year and earlier this year about what it means to teach for social justice. Here is the way we grouped responses. What strikes you from this list? What's missing, if anything?

12. Some of the people who define TSJ say it's teaching that improves students' learning and enhances their life chances. They say that part of this is teachers trying to work with others to actively address inequities in the system. We didn't find much talk about activism or addressing inequities in our interviews. Any thoughts on this?

School Context/Teacher Roles

Now we're going to switch gears and talk about your school.

13. What opportunities has the school provided you in terms of what and how you teach?

Probe: Have you experienced any constraints? Are there things you've felt you couldn't do this year but wanted to?

Probe: In terms of what you brought with you from the BC program, are there things that were particularly helpful? Were there things that you didn't have an opportunity to implement?

14. What personal factors have made a difference in your teaching (background, education, personal experiences)? (i.e. knowing a second language having an impact on teaching ELLs)?

15. How would you describe the role you played in the school this year (e.g. with pupils, clubs, committees, with other faculty)? Do you see that changing next year?

16. What role have others in the school (colleagues, mentors, etc.) played in your life this year?

Inquiry

17. One of the goals at BC is to develop inquiry as stance – a way of thinking about and questioning what happens in your classroom, collecting data – through pupil work – and making decisions about practice based on that information. Can you give me an example of how you see this occurring in your classroom this year? Is this an important element of your practice?

18. Have you used the strategies you used in your BC inquiry project this year? Why? Why not?

Future Plans

Dependent on their plans for next year:

20. Why did you decide to stay at the school?
OR
Why did you decide to leave? What were you looking for in your new school?
AND
What aspects of this first year of teaching encouraged you to stay (or leave)?

21. Do you have any specific goals for next year? Have you thought about what you might keep the same and what you might change in your teaching, your classroom, and in your role in the school?

22. Do you think about teaching as your career? What do you see yourself doing in the next five years? Ten years?

Theme	Codes	Description (*Emphasizes…*)
Pupil Learning	6 - Curriculum applicable	Teacher as making curriculum relevant and applicable to the pupils
	9 - Accommodate/Differentiate	Idea of accommodating different learners and differentiating instruction
	10 - Everybody learns	Teacher responsible for making sure pupils learn
	11- Promote engagement	Importance of engaging pupils
	13 - Multiple viewpoints	Importance of exposing pupils to multiple viewpoints; encouraging them to consider other perspectives, and expanding ideas and opportunities
	14 - Critical thinking	Critical thinking and deep questioning
	18 - Prepare future	Preparing pupils for a successful future
	19 - Basic skills	Importance of teaching basic skills
	22 - Social/cultural contexts	Knowing and understanding pupils' social and cultural contexts
	23 - High expectations	Holding pupils to high expectations and pushing kids to meet those goals
	24 - Same expectations	Holding same expectations for all pupils
Relationships and Respect	12 - Be Fair	Being fair to all pupils in the classroom; not showing favorites
	20 - Relationships pupils	

	21 - Parents	Building relationships with the pupils
	25 - Culture of respect	Respecting and working with parents
	27 - Care	Promoting a culture of respect among pupils and between pupil and teacher Knowing and caring for pupils
Teacher as Activist	1 - Collaborations/Coalitions	Importance of participating in collaborations/coalitions to support pupils and improve schools
	2 - Advocate for pupils	Role of the teacher in serving as an advocate for pupils
	3 - Activism	Idea that the teacher should participate in activism
	4 - Community work	Role of the teacher in doing community work/volunteering or getting pupils engaged in such activities
Recognizing Inequities	5 - Change agent	Teacher as a change agent, making a difference in society
	7 - Challenge canon	Challenging the canon or altering the standard curriculum
	8 - Gender	The role gender plays in the classroom
	15 - Class/race struggle in Curriculum	How teachers might highlight class/race
	16 - Connections to	

	oppression	struggle and social inequities as part of the curriculum
	17 - Break down barriers	Ways to connect curriculum to real world
	26 - Challenge stereotypes	examples of oppression and exploitation
		Breaking down racial or SES barriers for pupils
		Challenging pupils' stereotypes or biases related to race, class, gender, or sexual orientation

INTERVIEW 10

Questions 1 and 2 only if it's a new school context:

A. Tell me about your school…how would you describe it?

Probes:

- What kind of resources do they have? Or lack?
- What are the population demographics?
- Are parents involved in the school?
- What kind of goals does the school promote? Is there a mission statement? If so, do both faculty and students buy into it?
- Is there anything major that has happened at the school (AYP problems, new principal, new curriculum they have to use, construction)?
- Is this a very different setting from your last teaching experience?

B. Let's shift to your students for a bit. I'd like you to describe them to me. Can you start with some general demographics that describe the pupils in your class(es)?

Probes:

- Age, ethnicity, language backgrounds, SES *(How does this compare to last year?)*
- SPEd
- ELL
- Range of abilities across the group(s)
- Did you get some of this information from teachers who had these students previously? Did you have prior experience with any of these pupils?
- How would you describe classroom dynamics? Do you have difficulty with certain students or a particular class?
- What is the biggest challenge you have faced so far this year?

*C. **If the teacher is in the same school start with:***

- *Is there anything major that has happened at the school (AYP problems, new principal, new curriculum they have to use, construction) since last June?*
- *Is there any significant difference in your teaching assignment this year?*

Then all interviews continue:

1. In general, how do you feel things have gone in the past few months? How are things in comparison to last year?

2. What kinds of changes, if any, have you made based on your experience in the first half of the year or from last year?

Probe: For example, grading, classroom management, differentiated instruction?

3. At this point in the school year, are you able to identify goals for your students?

Probes:
What do you want them to learn? (consider academic, social, and emotional possibilities, here)

4. How do you know your pupils are learning?
Probe:
- Has this changed in anyway since last year? If so, why?
- Has the inquiry played a role in how you look at your classes?

5. Of course, teachers are not just interested in their pupils' academic learning, they are also very interested in their social and emotional development. Do you see your students making progress socially and emotionally? Like what? *(Note: levels of confidence, enjoyment of learning, engagement in learning, independence in learning, cooperative group work, classroom behavior, interpersonal interactions)*

6. What is your workload like?
Probes:
- What is your schedule? When do you get in to school? What time do you leave?
- For secondary – number of preps?
- For elementary – breaks?
- Additional school duties (ex: study hall, cafeteria duty, extra-curricular activities?)

7. Tell me about planning…when do you get to do this? How do you decide what to use? What to teach? How is it different from last year?
Probes:
- What resources do you have? Use? Where are they from?
- Are you focusing on day-to-day planning or do you have a long-term plan to work from?
- What strategies/resources have you utilized from your master's program?

8. Do you see yourself as having a great deal of autonomy in your classroom?
(If teacher asks what you mean by 'autonomy' can say 'when some people talk about autonomy they refer to the role of standards, district mandated curriculum or exams, whether you feel you have a voice in deciding what is taught in your classroom)
Probes:
Why/why not?
In what area do you have most/least autonomy? *Has this changed since last year?*
Who or what influences your decisions in the classroom?
Is MCAS a driving force in what you do?

9. What kind of relationships have you been able to develop with school faculty & staff?
Probes:
- Principal, department head, fellow teachers?

- Is there a lot of interaction among faculty?
- Do you have the opportunity to co-plan or co-teach?

Let's look at how well prepared you feel and what you attribute to the BC experience:

10. After over a year as a full-time teacher, what do you feel BC best prepared you for? In what ways do you feel least prepared?

Probes:

- Pedagogy? Content-knowledge?
- Does your school provide support through PD for what you might not feel prepared for?
- Where might you turn for additional support/knowledge?
- Do you feel prepared to work with the population of students in your classroom? (ELL, SED, etc)

Now, I'd like to return to some questions that have been themes throughout the interviews, namely—pupil learning, social justice, and inquiry:

11. We've talked about learning to teach for social justice during other interviews. As you know, we're interested in the realities of how teaching for social justice is playing out in practice.

Probes:

- Do you think about issues of social justice in your classroom?
- In your planning?
- Do feel that teaching for social justice is an explicit part of your classroom experience at the moment?
- How might this be particular to the context of your school? Classroom?
- How practical is the BC emphasis on social justice for a novice teacher?
- Has your view on teaching for social justice changed *over the last year?*

Looking at Pupil Work

OK, let's take a look at the assignments you brought. As a way to walk me through this work, it might be helpful for you to start at the end with the cumulative project and work backwards. Or you might want to start with the first task and move chronologically to the end, the cumulative task.

12. How do these assignments fit into a larger unit?

Probe:

- Was this something you devised yourself?
- Was any part of this lesson from a preexisting lesson that you adapted?
- Why did you decide this lesson/assignment/assessment would be appropriate? How much autonomy did you have in creating the lesson or assignment?

13. What did you want students to get out of this activity? How do you know whether or not students accomplished what you wanted them to get out of this activity/lesson/unit?

Probe:

- How did you evaluate these assignments (rubric, scoring, etc.)?

14. Is there anything you would change about this lesson or assignment or unit? What? Why?

15. Let's now look at your examples of a high, a medium, and a low-level response? Why did you choose these three examples? Tell me about the students who did this work (ELL, Special Ed, anything else?).

Probe:

- How do these samples compare to the overall class?
- Is this work representative of the class? Is this what you expected?

General Pupil Learning Ideas

16. Has your grading system changed from last year? If yes, describe how it has changed.

Ask this question if teachers is in new school context - What kind of grading or evaluating system do you use? Are you happy with it?

Probe:

- To what extent do you have autonomy in this? Are there school or department guidelines about grades?

17. Is your school doing anything differently with pupil data (MCAS, District exam scores) compared with last year?

Ask this question if teachers is in new school context - What kind of pupil data does your school district use in developing curriculum & instruction that might impact your class?

Probe:

- This might include MCAS scores; other standardized test scores; testing coming from, or contributing to IEPs and 504s; Student Success Plans (these are required for students w/o IEP or 504 that don't meet standards on other tests); portfolio or exhibit projects, district benchmark/tests, other?

18. Do you use data for classroom inquiry?

Probe:

- Has inquiry played a role in how you look at your classes/students or pupil data?
- Have you used the strategies you used in your BC inquiry project this year? Why? Why not?

19. Some people say the first year of teaching is the hardest and find it difficult to find balance. Would you say your "quality of life" has changed since the first year? (Do you have a life?)

20. Is there anything that we haven't touched on that you feel is especially important to include in this conversation?

INTERVIEW 10
ELSIE SPECIFIC

1. I'd like you to reflect on what happened over the end of last year and talk a bit about your experience at the school, with the hindsight of several months.

Probes:
- In retrospect, what do you think happened?
- Why do you believe you were not asked to return for a second year?
- What feedback or information did you receive from the school leadership about this?
- From other faculty?
- Do you have any regrets? Would you have done anything differently if you could do it all over again?

2. How would you describe the culture of BFHS?

Probes:
- The culture of the teachers?
- What kinds of interactions did you have? How about the apparent divide between young and old teachers? Cliques? Judgments?
- Culture of the students?
- What type of support and working environment were you hoping for when you went into teaching? How did these expectations compare to what you experienced?

3. What did you enjoy most about teaching there? How would you describe your strengths? Your weaknesses?

Probes:
- What were some of the successes that you experienced?
- What were some of the biggest challenges that you faced?

(ask about SSR; activities; Freshman vs. Juniors)

4. Let's talk about your students and your classroom.

Probes:
- How would you describe the classroom dynamics? Did you have difficulty with certain students or a particular class? What would you attribute that to?
- What type of support and working environment were you hoping for when you went into teaching? How did these expectations compare to what you experienced?

5. How well do you feel BC prepared you for the realities of teaching, both in and out of the classroom?

Probes:

- What attracted you to BC?
- Do you think the faculty structured their courses around the realities of schools?
- What were the strengths of the program?
- What were the weaknesses of the program?
- Did you feel any tensions between what you learned at BC and what you were experiencing at BFHS?

6. What did you expect teaching was going to be like?

Probes:

- Do you think you would return to teaching at some point?
- Thinking back on how you felt after completing your preparation, did your expectations of teaching change? In what ways?

7. Thinking back to how you felt right after that first year, did anything change in your vision of teaching? Your expectations of students? Of yourself?

8. How satisfied were you with teaching?

Probes:

- What aspects of teaching did you enjoy?
- What about teaching turned you off?

9. What were some of the things that influenced your decision not to teach this year? Did you consider changing positions, schools or districts instead?

10. Tell me about your work now. What are you doing?

Probes:

- How did you find this job?
- Why did you choose this work?
- How do you like what you're doing now?
- How does it compare with teaching?

11. What was it like to leave classroom teaching?

- Is there anything that you miss?
- What do you think the reaction was about you leaving?
- What was the reaction of the students?
- Other teachers?
- Parents?
- Your family?

12. What are your plans for the future?

INTERVIEW 11 (End of second year of teaching)

Introduction - This interview has some familiar pieces, and one new section. There will be three parts: first questions about "big picture" issues in teaching; second, a look at student work; and third we'd like you to show us how you feel you've changed as a teacher over the past few years. So, let's begin with the questions.

PART I. Big Picture Questions

1. Now that you've been teaching for two years, what would you say are the key characteristics of a very good teacher?

Probe: In interview one you talked about teachers you admired and specifically mentioned…. (e.g. FOR LOLA, "YOU'RE A.P. BIO TEACHER WHO REALLY SHOWED HER PASSION FOR THE SUBJECT AND MADE THE STUDENTS IN HER CLASS REALLY LOVE IT TOO…)

Probe: Are these still qualities that you would say are important after being in the classroom as a teacher? If not, how and why have your ideas changed?

2. Massachusetts requires that novice teachers in public schools are provided mentoring/induction, but the reality is that that is very different from school to school. In your case, you've had... (e.g. FOR LOLA, LOTS OF SUPPORT IN YOUR FIRST YEAR AND VERY LITTLE MENTORING AND SUPPORT IN YOUR SECOND YEAR) **How important has this been to you?**

Probes: Was it an effective program of support?
What elements were most helpful to you?
Were outside factors (people/resources) more helpful?
Any suggestions for change?

Probe: What ongoing support or professional development would be important to you in your third year in the classroom? At one time you talked about expanding your knowledge of… (e.g. FOR ELSIE, KNOWLEDGE OF AMERICAN LITERATURE)

3. CONTEXT– The school you're in, the student population you teach, the larger community in which you work (that this happens in) – are often mentioned as important to learning to teach. Can you talk about how these different elements (in your context) influence your learning in the profession, and your students' learning? In the past, for example you've mentioned ….

(Possible suggestions)
Impact of SES
Impact of nature of student population (bilingual pupils, SPED, etc.)
Impact of high-takes testing
Impact of administration
Impact of support

Impact of expectations
Impact of parents

Probe: What do you think is working in your school? Why?
Probe: What, in your opinion, is keeping the school from being a place that supports teacher and student growth?

4. Of course, as we've discussed, it is complex and sometimes challenging, but would you say at this point in your career you are teaching for social justice? If yes, in what ways? If not, in what ways not?

Probe: **Early on you mentioned** (e.g. FOR ELSIE, EXPOSING PUPILS TO DIFFERENT POINTS OF VIEW)….**and in later interviews you also mentioned**… (CARING FOR STUDENTS AND SHOWING THEM THAT YOU WERE INTERESTED IN THEIR LIVES OUTSIDE THE CLASSROOM), **some people might add ideas like improving academic learning, focusing on critical thinking, developing social and emotional learning, or enhancing students' life chances (**only list ideas that the teacher did not already talk about in past interviews)**- Do these ideas play a role in your teaching? If so, how? If not, why?**

5. You've been in the classroom for two years now, and it's clear that you know (the context of) your school. If you were in charge, what would you change?

Probes: Are there things you have already been working on? Are there things you think you might be able to work on in the future? What things do you think will be most difficult to change? Why?

(THESE ARE EXAMPLES OF THINGS THAT COULD BE ACTED ON IF THEY NEED A NUDGE – COULD SHOW THE LIST TO PROVIDE TOPICS CHOICES)
Expectations (for teachers and students)
Opportunities
Curriculum
Availability of resources
Tracking
Emphasis on certain outcomes

6. As you begin to think about next year, what are your big picture goals for your students?

Probe: What is it you want your students to know and be able to do in (math, ELA, history, science, etc.)
Probe: Is this different from last year, or the year before? (this also relates to whether they're teaching the same kids…)
Probe: Will you adjust practice to achieve these goals? How? Why?

7. Some, but of course not all, of the big challenges of learning to teach include successful classroom management, planning curriculum, developing pedagogy for teaching, meeting the needs of diverse learners, and assessment. Where do you see your strengths after two years? Are there areas that still need attention?

Probes:
How do you expect to grow as a teacher in the next few years?
How will you achieve these goals?
What, if any, of these factors have changed the most in the last few years?
How and Why?

8. In early interviews, a number of our participants talked about teaching as a career. There are great rewards in influencing lives, sharing content that you are passionate about…and there are real drawbacks – pay, relative lack of respect for the profession, limited or no opportunities for advancement. How do you feel about teaching as a career at this point? What do you see as your career trajectory at this point?

Probes:
Has this changed?
Do you plan to stay in teaching?
Are you more or less enthusiastic about teaching as a career choice than when you started?

Probe:
Do you plan to stay at this school next year? If not, where will you go? If yes, will it be the same position?

Probe:
Considering that teacher retention is such a big problem, from your experience, what do you think drives teachers from the profession?

Part II- TAPL – Teacher Assessment / Pupil Learning
9. OK, let's take a look at the assignment you brought. Although we only have one assignment, it would be helpful if you could walk me through the larger unit it draws from. You could work backwards and describe the larger unit or you might want to move chronologically through the unit and describe the pieces that led up to this final assessment.

Probe: How does it fit into a larger unit?
Probe: Was this something you devised yourself?
Probe: Was any part of this lesson from a preexisting lesson that you adapted?
Probe: Why did you decide this lesson/assignment/assessment would be appropriate?
How much autonomy did you have in creating the lesson or assignment?

10. What did you want students to get out of this activity? How do you know whether or not students accomplished what you wanted them to get out of this activity/lesson/unit?
Probe: How did you evaluate these assignments (rubric, scoring, etc.)?

11. Let's now look at your examples of a high, a medium, and a low-level response. How do these samples compare to the overall class?
Probe: Is this work representative of the class? Is this what you expected?

12. Did the students who completed these examples meet your expectations? Why or why not?
Probe: What might you do differently in the future for each of these students?

13. Why did you choose these?
Probe: Tell me about these three students (SPED, ELL, Bilingual).

Part III. Teacher Development Chart

14. Now we are going to move to a different part of the interview that provides you with an opportunity to talk about how your view your development as a teacher. So if you look at this chart and the horizontal axis represents time from prior to being in a teacher education program through the end of the second year of teaching and the vertical axis represents development as a teacher, how would you chart your own development in a general way?

Probe – If teacher asks 'What does development mean?' respond by turning it back to the individual 'We want to understand how you would interpret development.'

Probe – If the first probe is not needed, ask the teacher to explaining their understanding of development after they've completed their line.

15. Okay now imagine we take your development and think about it in terms of 3 aspects: ---
Content knowledge (Red)
Pedagogy & practice (Blue)
Understanding the role of the teacher (Green)

Would you have three different lines? If so, how would you draw them? (provide 3 different color markers (RED, BLUE, and GREEN) for drawing each line- be sure to reference the key on the blank development chart or the list above for the colors that correspond to the three aspects)

16. Describe your lines on each chart.

Probe: Why does the line drop here?
Probe: Why is there such a sharp increase in development at this point?

17. How would you project the continuation of your line in the future?

Probe: 5 years into teaching, 10, 25?

18. Can you talk about your development toward becoming the best teacher you can be?

Probe: What, or who, has helped you along the way? What circumstances might have has held you back?

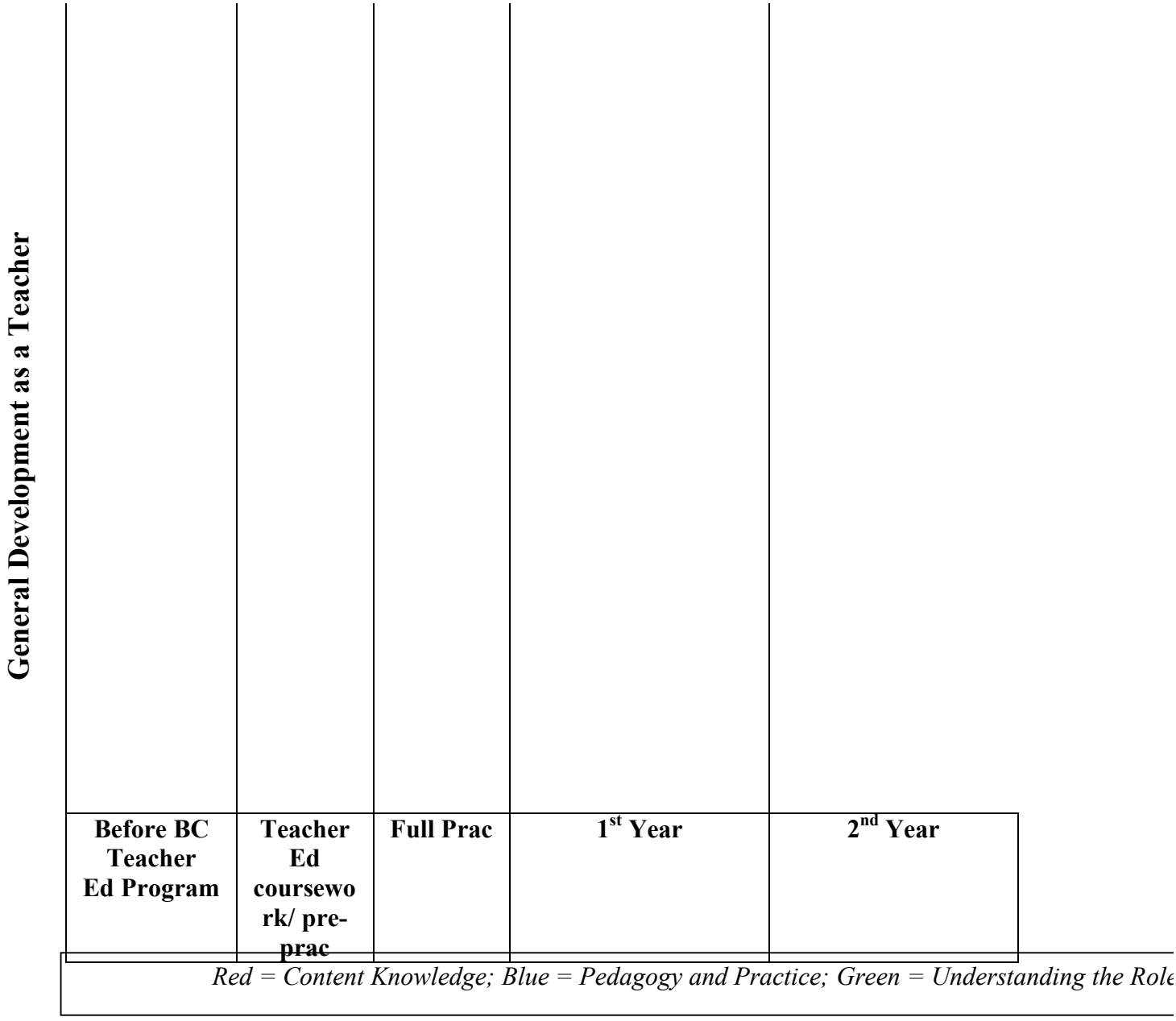
(Here we could specify based on knowing them, i.e. with Craig the going between two schools, with Lola the weak leadership at her latest school? Or, on the positive side, the strong support in the first school where she taught? I could ask her how much that support helped her in the first year and how she managed without it in the second year?)

Teacher Development Chart

General Development as a Teacher

Before BC Teacher Ed Program	**Teacher Ed coursework/ pre-prac**	**Full Prac**	**1st Year**	**2nd Year**

Teacher Development Chart



Cooperating Teacher & Supervisor
Interview Protocol

NOTE: Be sure to let the CT or Supervisor know that they have the option to bring copies of the observation forms they have completed for the student teacher since these documents might be helpful for them to refer to during the interview.

As you know, (TC's Name) is participating in a study at BC that is examining the impact of teacher education. You've had a major role on his/her development as a teacher; therefore, we thought it would be informative to gather some of the insights you have on the progress they've made throughout the semester. I will be asking you questions about your role as a cooperating teacher/supervisor, social justice, the student teacher's inquiry project, and her/his impact on the students' learning in the classroom.

1. How would you describe your role in the student teacher's learning to teach?

2. One of BC's goals is for teacher candidates to learn to teach for social justice. Given that there are a number of different ways people define social justice, how relevant do you think it is in the classroom?

3. Are you familiar with their inquiry project? (If they don't know what it is: They ask a question and gather data in their classroom.) How do you think this has influenced the student teacher's practice or pupil's learning?

4. Has the student teacher had an impact on kids' learning?

5. What have you focused on in your observations of and feedback to your student teacher?

Principal

(This may also be an assistant principal, head master, or department head – an administrator who would be knowledgeable about the teacher)

Interview Protocol

As you know, EXPLAIN PROJECT…
A set of case studies intended to document our teacher candidates' experiences during their pre-service program and then follow them into the first year of teaching. We are especially interested in what our teacher candidates learn about teaching during the program and then how they use that knowledge in practice during the first years of teaching. Hopefully this research will lead to a clearer sense of what preservice teacher education should focus on and how we can create positive, professional opportunities for both university faculty and beginning teachers. Since the overall goal for this project is to improve teacher education, no individual teacher, faculty member, or school personnel is the focus of this study. Rather we are looking across a set of cases to gain insights about learning to teach.

1. What's it like to be a new teacher here?
Probes: How would you describe the culture of this school for teacher's in general? For pupils? Parents?

2. What are the pressures/challenges and supports for teachers?

3. What kind of student does your school hope to produce?

4. "Let's talk specifically about _____, now. How would you describe his/her experience as a novice teacher this year? "

5. A lot of people think that content knowledge is the really critical factor in a successful teacher. How well prepared have you found _____to be?

If they indicate they have not seen our participant teach, probe for where they get information on the strengths and weakness of their novice teachers (another administrator, department head and so forth)

5. One of BC's goals is for teacher candidates to learn to teach for social justice. How relevant do you think that is here?

Mentor Teacher
(Chosen by novice teacher)
Interview Protocol

As you know, EXPLAIN PROJECT…
A set of case studies intended to document our teacher candidates' experiences during their pre-service program and then follow them into the first year of teaching. We are especially interested in what our teacher candidates learn about teaching during the program and then how they use that knowledge in practice during the first years of teaching. Hopefully this research will lead to a clearer sense of what preservice teacher education should focus on and how we can create positive, professional opportunities for both university faculty and beginning teachers. Since the overall goal for this project is to improve teacher education, no individual teacher, faculty member, or school personnel is the focus of this study. Rather we are looking across a set of cases to gain insights about learning to teach.

1. What kind of mentoring and induction is offered here?

Probes: What are the roles and responsibilities of mentors/mentees?
What is your experience with mentoring novice teachers?
What have you focused on for observations and comments to _____ ? Has this changed over time?
Why do you think _____ selected you*?
What questions and concerns have they come to you with?

2. Given this school, what would you say _____ is prepared and not prepared to do?
Probe: Generally, what are his/her challenges? Successes?

3. What are the supports and pressures for new teachers here?
Probe: What are the responsibilities expected of a new teacher?

4. Generally speaking, would you say _____ is an effective teacher? What impact would you say they have on their students?

5. One of BC's goals is for teacher candidates to learn to teach for social justice. How relevant do you think that is here?

* Depends on whether an assigned mentor or not

Faculty Interview Methods Protocol

***Course syllabus should be available during the interview.**

In this interview, I'd like you to discuss some specifics about your course, _____ _____--the goals you have for this course, the skills and content you intend students to get our of this course, how you assess your students, and your general impressions about the students who have taken your course. I will also want you to discuss your philosophy of teaching, how you view your role as a teacher educator, and how this role influences your interactions with teacher candidates, LSOE colleagues, A&S faculty, local schools and broader contexts.

1. Let's first focus on the course you teach, _____.

Probe: How long have you taught this course?

Probe: Do you consider this class an area of special interest and expertise?

2. Overall, what can you tell me about this course?

Probe: What are your goals for this course?

Probe: Do you think there are **special /effective ways of learning/teaching this subject?**

Probe: Are there **notable strategies or activities** that you utilize in this class?

Probe: What is the purpose of the **major assignments?** Are there other ways you assess students' knowledge of content and pedagogy?

3. Let's talk about what you teach your students about working with pupils.

Probe: Do you address working with **diverse students and/or ELL** students as part of the development of curriculum and instruction?

Probe: Do you talk about **classroom management** challenges? If not, where does it belong?

Probe: What do you teach about _____ (math, history, etc.) **assessment**?

4. You have these students for such a limited amount of time for the course. **How do you make decisions about what to include as critical elements of content and pedagogy**?

Probe: **Have you changed the course over time?** How? Why?

Probe: Other faculty members have noted that they have to make **compromises** when they teach based on class size, student body and course requirements, among others. Is this true in your case? Is there anything that has limited the way you would like to teach?

5. Let's back up for a broader view, for a minute. While you did touch on some of this, can you outline your philosophy of teaching and how it specifically relates to this course for me?

Probe: How do you provide a **balance between theory and practice**?

6. Shifting gears just a bit, but staying within the context of philosophy, I'd like to ask about Social Justice as one of the themes that runs through the Lynch School program. How do you see your course integrating the theme of social justice?

7. I'd like to ask some questions about how this course fits into the program at large, here at the Lynch School How do you see this course in relation to the A&S coursework that students will have taken here, or as an undergraduate (possibly at another university)?

Probe: Do you explicitly tie this course to the **practicum experiences** (e.g., the assignments they complete)? How?

Probe: Do you deal with **state frameworks and high-stakes testing** with your students? How?

Probe: Do you believe teacher candidates will be **well-prepared to teach** _____after taking your course? Why?

8. Let's talk about the students for a bit.

Probe: Do you have both **elementary and secondary teacher** candidates in your classroom?

Probe: Do you have both **undergraduate and graduate** students in your classroom? Do you find that the two groups have different needs?

If yes:
Probe: How do you address **those different needs as far as** instruction and the activities you develop go?

Probe: Earlier you mentioned that your goals for this course were…Is there anything else you want them to know and be able to do when they leave your course?

Probe: Are you satisfied with the **quality of student work** and the way students respond to the course?

9. I'd like to talk about your role as a teacher educator now. A professor really has a number of roles as a teacher educator. They work with students; they have interactions with their colleagues here in the Lynch School in the Arts and Sciences; and then the world at large. Then there are also connections in schools, the community, and as a member of the academy. We'd like to get some sense of your participation in these different roles.

Probe: Could you start by describing your role as a teacher educator as it relates to your **interactions with students**?

- **Teacher Education colleagues?**
- **Arts and Sciences colleagues?**
- **Local schools?**
- **Broader contexts?**

Probe: What do you see as **your particular strengths** as a teacher educator?

Probe: What would you say are the biggest challenges faced by a teacher educator? Are these your challenges, too?

Probe: How do you stay current about this field and instructional practices for it over time?

Probe: Could you give us an example of an exemplary response to one of your key assignments for this course? Why did it stand out?

APPENDIX D: OBSERVATION PROTOCOL

Guidelines, Protocol, Annotated Record

TEACHING PRACTICES / PUPIL LEARNING / SOCIAL JUSTICE
Classroom Observation Protocol Directions

This observation protocol captures the teaching practices, pupil learning, and the pupils' exposure to issues of social justice that occur within the classroom and school contexts. Completion of the observation protocol form requires the researcher to compile her or his observation notes, categorize these data into a chronology of events, create a script for these events, and begin analysis by providing a general overview of the content of the lesson, pedagogical approaches and opportunities for learning provided by the teacher, pupil learning and assessment, social justice and classroom environment.

The Classroom (page 1):
At the beginning of each observation, the researcher records the details for the first page of this observation protocol. This page provides an overview of the pupils and context of the classroom. Included is an informal count of the pupils' gender and race. Other prompts on this page focus on the physical characteristics of the room, including the pupils' seating arrangement and the visuals on the walls (e.g., pupil work, educational materials). Researchers should also record the interactions between the teacher and pupils prior to the beginning of the observed lesson. These data provide an opportunity for the researcher to record her or his overall sense of the classroom's climate.

School Background (pages 2, 3, & 4):
Prior to the observation, the researcher completes the second, third, and fourth pages of the observation protocol. This information includes the quantitative data for the entire school and serves as the cover pages for all of the observations that take place at that school. Information for page two is obtained from the Massachusetts Department of Education's website and includes:

- the school's setting (e.g., suburban)
- pupil demographics
- percentage of pupils receiving special services
- school indicators (e.g., retention rate)
- teacher data (e.g., percentage who are licensed)
- pupil expenditures

Page three contains MCAS data for the school and a scale to rank the quality of the classroom's resources (e.g., technology) and environment (e.g., cleanliness). This page also offers the researcher an opportunity to provide a justification for these rankings. Page four includes a similar chance to rank the overall condition of the school, its resources (e.g., library/media center) and environment (e.g., building and grounds) and prompts the researcher to justify these rankings. Rankings may be competed with the participant to capture a more accurate rating.

Chronology of Events (page 5):
The scripted data are categorized into a chronology of events. The number of events will vary by observation (page 5 of the observation protocol). For an early elementary classroom observation, these events might include (but are not limited to):

1) teacher greets pupils before class
2) circle time (e.g., pupils sit together on a rug and the teacher reads them a book)
3) teacher models lesson
4) pupils complete worksheets
5) recess

The table includes the duration of time for each event, a title for the event, its setting, participants, and materials used (e.g., worksheets pupils were assigned).

Script of Events (page 6):
During the observation, researchers focus on the teaching, learning, and social justice events to guide their observation notes. Though there is not a tape recording of the observation, the researcher has captured, as much as possible, the activities and quotations from each event as well as her or his commentary about these events. The script of events should be written in dialogue format and double spaced.

In particular, researchers focus on **teaching practices** such as:

- content
- pedagogy, and
- expectations/objectives.

Pupil learning focuses on:

- academic learning,
- social learning, and
- emotional learning.

Finally, **social justice** includes:

- the classroom's environment,
- equity in learning,
- pupils' exposure to social justice, and
- inquiry as stance.

Annotated Observation Record (pages 7-8 or included as a separate document):
Please include the following header on the annotation if included as a separate document from the observation -
Researcher:
Participant:
Observation Date:
Observation Number (ex: **FP2** = full practicum obs 2 or **FY3**=first year teaching obs 3):
Rationale for selecting this observation for annotation

- This rationale is important because annotations will be completed for 3 of 4 observations completed during the full practicum and 3 of 4 completed during the first year of teaching. Thus, the rationale provides an opportunity for justification of the selection which might

include researcher comments like "this observation provides the most behavior management difficulty during the full prac observations").
- For the pre-prac observation and the one observation from the full prac and first year that are **not** selected for annotation include a one paragraph overview of the lesson with research insights.

The researcher begins the first round of preliminary analysis of these data. The Teaching, Learning, and Social Justice Guidelines (see pages 3-6) help the researcher identify what occurred during the observation. The researcher should take care to capture the *general tone* of the observation and include *evaluative remarks* by the researcher indicating *what stood out, what was consistent with or divergent from the teacher candidates' previous lessons*. There is no page limit to this document, but points only need to be made once under an indicator.

The categories the researcher uses for this analysis include: Content, Pedagogy, Teacher Pedagogy & Opportunities for Learning, Pupil Learning & Assessment, Social Justice, Relationships & Classroom Management.

- Under each category there are a number of indicators that should be highlight in **ALL-CAPS** to denote their absence or presence. If it is an absence please type **"ABSENCE"** next to the indicator.
  - If an indicator is highlighted it should be addressed in the notes and dialogue that follow. If selected for absence then address what is lacking in the observation.
  - Go with a general overview rather than addressing each indicator under each category when describing the observation. The more insights the better as you are the only one who can provide these!
- In the "Content" section, be sure to note whether the lesson plan appeared to be designed entirely by the teacher or if the lesson plan was part of a school mandated curriculum (i.e. TERC or OPEN CIRCLE etc). Then include a brief summary of what occurred in the lesson. No dialogue sections are to be included under the content category.
- Dialogue Excerpts - provide adequate context and/or lead-up to each dialogue excerpts. Excerpts from the observation should be enclosed in borders, written in dialogue format with each new speaker on a new line and single-spaced. Include enough in the boxes to get a sense of what is going on and whether it is helpful to go to script.
- Terms such as *always, once, never,* and *worst* may be beneficial for explaining a bit more about the observation.

Attributions

The observation protocol was developed drawing on the following resources:

Biggs, J., & Collis, K. (1982). *Evaluating the quality of learning: The SOLO taxonomy (Structure of the Observed Learning Outcome*). New York: Academic Press.

Charney, R.S. (1992). *Teaching children to care: Management in the responsive classroom*. Massachusetts: Northeast Foundation for Children.

Cochran-Smith, M. (1999). Learning to teach for social justice. In G. Griffin (Ed.), *The education of teachers: Ninety-eighth yearbook of the national society for the study of education* (pp. 114-144). Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Echevarria, J., Vogt, M.E., & Short, D.J. (2000). *Making content comprehensible for English language learners: The SIOP Model.* Boston: Alllyn & Bacon.

Newmann, F. M., & Wehlage, G. G., (1993). Five standards of authentic instruction. Educational Leadership. 50(7), 8-12.

Newmann, F. M., & Associates. (1996). Authentic achievement: Restructuring schools for intellectual quality. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Department of Education (2005). *Preservice performance assessment.* Retrieved from http://www.doe.mass.edu/edprep/pre_svc.html

Thompson, M., Peck, P., Gee, L., & Ponte, E. (2004). *Study of the impact of the California formative assessment and support system for teachers: report 2, relationship of BTSA/CFASST engagement and teacher practices*. Educational Testing Services and the California commission on teacher credentialing.

University of Illinois at Chicago, Department of Psychology/Collaboration for Social and Emotional learning, "Skills and Competencies", retrieved from http://www.casel.org/basics/skills.php

QCS Observation Protocol

Teacher: _____ Time & Date: _____

Observer: _____ Grade & Subject: _____

_____

Arrangement of Room:

_____ Pupils have assigned seats

_____ Seating appears to be random

_____ Tables used, not desks

Add Additional Notes Below:

_____ Pupils work on walls
Comments:

_____ Visuals on walls
Comments:

Diagram of Classroom: (t = teacher; a = aide; designate pupil by race/gender and assigned a number.
AF1 = pupil [Asian, female 1]

F = Female
M = Male
A = Asian
B = Black
H = Hispanic
W = White
O = Other

	A	B	H	W	O
F					
M					
Total					

Classroom Climate:

Additional Pre-Lesson/Class Observations (including information about host teacher/classroom, if relevant)

Contextual Information on School:

Name:
School Setting

Suburban		Charter		Male:
Private		Pilot		Female:
Catholic		Magnet		Grades Served:

(200__ - 200__)

Race/Ethnicity Indicators **Selected Populations**

	% of School			% of School			School
African American			First Language not English			Grade 9-12 Drop-out	
Asian			Limited English Proficient			Attendance Rate	
Hispanic			Low-income			Average # of days absent	
Native American			Special Education			In-School Suspension Rate	
White						Retention Rate	
Other						Exclusions rate per 1000	

Teacher Data **School** **Pupil Expenditures School**

Total # of Teachers			Regular Education	
% of Teachers Licensed in Teaching Assignment			Special Education	
Total # of Teachers in Core Academic Areas			Bilingual Education	
% of Core Academic Teachers Identified as Highly Qualified			Occupational Day Education	
Student/Teacher Ratio			All Day Programs	
Average Salary				

MCAS 200__ **% Advanced** **% Proficient** **% Needs Improvement** **% Warning/Failing** **Students Included**

Grade __ Reading					
Grade __ ELA					
Grade __ Math					
Grade __ Sci/Tech					

AYP 200__:	ELA Aggr	ELA Sub	Math Aggr	Math Sub

Condition of Classroom:

1 = Inadequate Limits opportunities for learning	2 = Poor	3 = Adequate	4 = Good	5 = Excellent

I. Resources

a. Technology works 1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5
b. Texts available 1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5
c. Usable furnishings (desks and chairs) 1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5
d. Erase/chalk boards 1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5
e. Teaching materials 1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5

1 2 3 4 5

II. Environment

a. Cleanliness

b. Climate (temperature)

c. Lighting

d. Adequate Space/storage

e. Noise

f. Postings

Overall Resource Rating 1 2 3 4 5 **Overall Classroom Environment Rating 1 2 3 4 5**

Final Condition of Classroom Rating: 1 2 3 4 5

Summary Notes:

Condition of School:

1 = Inadequate Limits opportunities for learning	2 = Poor	3 = Adequate	4 = Good	5 = Excellent

I. Resources

a. Library/Media Center 1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5
b. Gymnasium 1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5
c. Computer Center 1 2 3 4 5
1 2 3 4 5

II. Environment

a. Building and Grounds

b. Cleanliness

c. Appropriate Wall Coverings

d. Auditorium 1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	d. Clear Directions Posted
e. Playground	1 2 3 4 5	
f. Cafeteria	1 2 3 4 5	
g. Bathrooms and Water fountains	1 2 3 4 5	
h. Teacher's Lounge	1 2 3 4 5	
Overall Resource Rating **Rating 1 2 3 4 5**	**1 2 3 4 5**	**Overall Classroom Environment**
Final Condition of Classroom Rating:	**1 2 3 4 5**	

Summary Notes:

Chronology of Events

Time	Activity/Format	Setting	Participants	Materials
	1.			
	2.			
	3.			
	4.			

	5.			
	6.			
	7.			

Observation Script

Activity Field Notes (Fonts: standard for description; quote what is said; italicize commentary) **Activity One:** **Time:**
Activity Field Notes (Fonts: standard for description; quote what is said; italicize commentary) **Activity Two:** **Time:**
Activity Field Notes (Fonts: standard for description; quote what is said; italicize commentary) **Activity Three:** **Time:**
Activity Field Notes (Fonts: standard for description; quote what is said; italicize commentary) **Activity Four:** **Time:**
Activity Field Notes (Fonts: standard for description; quote what is said; italicize commentary) **Activity Five:** **Time:**
Activity Field Notes (Fonts: standard for description; quote what is said; italicize commentary) **Activity Six:** **Time:**
Activity Field Notes (Fonts: standard for description; quote what is said; italicize commentary) **Activity Seven:** **Time:**

Annotated Observation Record

1. Content (Developmentally appropriate and accurate resources and materials; availability of resources)

2. Teacher Pedagogy & Opportunities for Learning (Refers to the activities and strategies in which the teacher/candidate engages as well as the kinds and quality of learning experiences that are offered in the classroom)

- **Activities/Strategies**
- **Inquiry**
- **Connectedness to the World**
- **Levels of Thinking**
- **Depth of Knowledge**
- **Substantive Conversations**
- **Social Supports to Achievement**

3. Pupil Learning & Assessment(Pupil behavior that suggests engagement and progress in learning skills and content. This may include academic, social and emotional outcomes. Assessment includes any opportunity, formal or informal, in which the teacher/candidate is establishing the skill and knowledge base of students, or ability to utilize information that is being presented.)

- **Formative**
- **Summative**
- **Pupil Engagement**
- **Academic Outcomes**
- **Social/Emotional Outcomes**
- **Levels of Thinking**
- **Connectedness to the World**
- **Depth of Knowledge**
- **Substantive Conversations**

4. Social Justice (In keeping with our focus on social justice as an outcome for teacher/candidate and pupils, this topic area explicitly identifies activities/opportunities where teaching for social justice, or social justice issues are apparent in the classroom. Both the Key word list and Newmann's work provide the frame for identifying social justice in the classroom.)

- **Providing rich opportunities and progress for all students**
- **Culturally Relevant Content and Pedagogy**
- **Diversity as an Asset**
- **Social Supports to Achievement**
- **Levels of Thinking**
- **Connectedness to the World**
- **Depth of Knowledge**
- **Substantive Conversations**

5. Relationships & Classroom Management (Interactions in the classroom between and among members of the school community that are represented. This is

reviewed as a key to classroom community and context, support for learning, and addressing social/emotional elements of the learning experience, and the organization and routines to support learning)

Teacher/Candidate/Pupils
Peer-to-Peer
Teacher/Other Staff
Social Supports to achievement
Substantive Conversations

Annotated Observation Guidelines

What's going on regarding TEACHING?	
*The **CONTENT*** *What was the content? Was it:*	
• DEVELOPMENTALLY APPROPRIATE? • LINKED TO THE DISCIPLINE AND CURRICULUM STANDARDS • UTILIZING MULTIPLE AND ALTERNATIVE PERSPECTIVES • EXPLICITLY INCLUDING ISSUES OF POWER AND EQUITY	
*The **PEDAGOGY*** *What pedagogical strategies did you observe?* *Did the teacher:*	
• RELATE TO PUPILS' CULTURAL, LINGUISTIC, AND EXPERIENTIAL RESOURCES • LINK PUPILS' KNOWLEDGE TO CONTENT • UTILIZE KNOWLEDGE OF PUPILS (E.G. BACKGROUND KNOWLEDGE, LEARNING SKILLS, LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY, ETHNICITY, AND GENDER) TO FACILITATE LEARNING • USE APPROPRIATE TEACHING STRATEGIES AND MATERIALS TO SUPPORT SECOND-LANGUAGE ACQUISITIONS FOR THOSE WHOSE FIRST LANGUAGE IS NOT ENGLISH • MAKE GENERAL CURRICULUM ACCESSIBLE TO STUDENTS WITH SPECIAL NEEDS • VARY INSTRUCTIONAL ACTIVITIES THAT INTEGREATE LESSON SKILLS WITH LANGUAGE PRACTICE OPPORTUNITIES FOR READING, WRITING, LISTENING, AND/OR SPEAKING	Organize Elaborate, formulate, incorporate, integrate, participate, plan, structure, summarize CH EIGHT Ch Nine: *Cognitive* *Assess, ask, correct, evaluate, measure, observe, record, track, transcribe* Teach *Assign, brainstorm, compose, delegate, demonstrate, design, discuss, display, engage, explain, facilitate, lecture, model, observe, plan, present, problem solve, question, repeat, show, tell* Respond *Apply, challenge, connect, construct, critique, define, emphasize, focus, inquire, justify, orchestrate, probe, question, recognize, reflect*

• EMPLOYS VARIOUS SCAFFOLDING TECHNIQUES, QUESTIONING, AND ASSESSMENT STRATEGIES	Adapt *Accommodate, adjust, clarify, expand, guide, modify, scaffold, simplify, translate* Emotional Positive *Care, comfort, encourage, feed, listen, meet needs, nurture, provide, respect, support, value, wait/patience* Negative *Coerce, criticize, critique, exclude, humiliate,* *Ignore, racism, reject, ridicule, shame, use sarcasm*
EXPECTATIONS/OBJECTIVES *What were the pupils asked to do? Did the teacher::*	CHAPTER EIGHT:
• USE LEARNING OBJECTIVES THAT COMMUNICATE HIGH STANDARDS AND EXPECTATIONS FOR ALL PUPILS • USE RICH LANGUAGE OPPORTUNITIES THAT ENGAGE ALL PUPILS IN COMPLEX TASKS	*Classroom* Environment *Demand, dismiss, punish, remove, time out* *Collaborate, comfort, cooperate, encourage, listen, praise, reward, support* *Bargain, cajole, negotiate*
What's going on regarding LEARNING?	
Chapter Ten: ACADEMIC LEARNING *How were the pupils demonstrating academic skills and learning? Did they:*	CHAPTER EIGHT: ACADEMIC LEARNING
• CONNECT NEW CONTENT TO PREVIOUS LEARNING • DISPLAY INTEREST IN, AND	Cognitive Task Action Words (drawn from Newmann* and SOLO) that might be used to describe pupils engaged in meaningful cognitive tasks:

ENGAGEMENT WITH, CONTENT • ENGAGE IN SUBSTANTIVE CONVERSATION WITH ONE ANOTHER AND WITH THE TEACHER • MANAGE INFORMATION IN A VARIETY OF WAYS (CATEGORIZE, COMBINE, ORGANIZE, SYNTHESIZE)	*Describe; define; explain; summarize; interpret; give examples; construct; apply; compare/contrast; deduce; infer; analyze; categorize; create; support; design; compose; combine; rearrange; judge; debate; critique; recall; formulate; organize; synthesize; evaluate; hypothesize; make models or simulations; construct arguments; invent procedures; apply information; relate information to prior knowledge, personal experience, or perceptions of the world; consider different points of view.*
CHAPTER TEN: SOCIAL LEARNING *Did the teacher promote Social Learning that encourages pupils to:*	CHAPTER TEN: SOCIAL LEARNING**:**
• SHARE MATERIALS AND IDEAS • LISTEN TO ONE ANOTHER AND TO THE TEACHER • RESPOND IN WAYS THAT CONTRIBUTE TO OTHERS' LEARNING	<u>Social and Emotional Tasks one might observe:</u> *Sharing (materials/ideas); cooperating; listening; self-asserting; showing responsibility; developing relationships with peers; identifying and naming feelings; recognizing danger; empathizing; demonstrating self-control; showing tolerance; being self-motivated; acting independently; show appreciation, anger, and annoyance in appropriate ways; caring; coping; negotiate and accept differences; recognize contributions of others; provide information in constructive manner; solving community problems*
EMOTIONAL LEARNING	EMOTIONAL LEARNING
Still need input for this section	Still need input for this section
What's going on regarding SOCIAL JUSTICE?	
CLASSROOM ENVIRONMENT *Did the teacher:*	
• VARY AND MANAGE CLASSROOM ROUTINES SUCH THAT ALL PUPILS HAVE ACCESS TO LEARNING • ENGAGE ALL PUPILS IN SUBSTANTIVE CONVERSATION THAT SUPPORTS	

LEANRING • USE INTERACTIONS AMONG PUILS TO PROMOTE SUBSTANTIVE CONVERSATION AND SHARED UNDERSTANDING ACROSS DIFFERENCES • FACILITATE AN ENVIRONMENT OF COOPERATION, RESPONSIBILITY, TRUST, AND CARE THAT IS ALSO ENACTED BY THE PUPILS • DEMONSTRATE UNDERSTANDING AND EMPATHY SO THAT PUPILS EXHIBIT THIS FOR ONE ANOTHER IN THEIR INTERACTIONS • USE CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES TO MODEL EQUITY?	
EQUITY IN LEARNING *Did the teacher:*	
• ENGAGE PUPILS OF DIFFERENT LANGUAGE BACKGROUNDS IN A WHOLE RANGE OF COGNITIVE AND SOCIAL TASKS • ENGAGE PUPILS AT DIFFERENT SKILL LEVELS, AND STUDENTS WITH SPECIAL NEEDS, IN THE WHOLE RANGE OF COGNITIVE AND SOCIAL TASKS • BUILD CONFIDENCE IN PUPILS' SELF-KNOWLEDGE AS WELL AS KNOWLEDGE OF THE CONTENT	
EXPOSURE TO SOCIAL JUSTICE *Did the teacher:*	
• MAKE POWER, EQUITY, AND ACTIVISM EXPLICIT • PROVIDE OPPORTUNITIES TO CRITICALLY QUESTION AND ANALYZE EXISTING POWER STRUCTURES IN SOCIETY • HELP PUPILS FEEL POWERFUL IN RESPONSE TO THESE ISSUES	

APPENDIX E: QCS INTERVIEW DATA CODING DICTIONARY

Example for Category of "Previous Experience": Within this category, the codes, their definitions, and examples from the interview data are included

Codes, Definitions, and Examples for QCS Interviews

Entering Characteristics (EC-) "entering" does NOT refer to comments or experiences that occurred prior to the program, but rather suggest personal traits or characteristics of the participant	
CODE	**DESCRIPTION**
-REASON T	Reasons the participant offers for choosing to teach ...a lot of people along the way would say oh you'd be a great teacher and what not and I didn't really think much of it. And doing one on one tutoring in college and I decided I really liked high schoolers. I liked that age group; I liked working with them and I thought I'd give it a try. (Elizabeth, Int. 1, p. 1)
-SCH EXP	any description of the participant's previous school experiences
	-COLL – College experiences I think one of the most appealing things to me was BC really comes out and says they want to teach teachers ways to promote social justice and that's very important to me having done my undergraduate work at a Jesuit school as well. (Elizabeth, Int. 1, p. 1) Note: Double-Coded—SJ
	-H.S. – High School experiences I went to [suburban] High School in [suburb, Massachusetts, fabulous, fabulous high school. In some ways, I thought it was more challenging than college. I think that's a good sign that it really prepared me. (Elizabeth, Int. 1, p. 3)
	-M.S. – Middle School or Junior High experiences (6^{th}-8^{th} grade)

	-ELEM – Elementary School experiences I mean I still remember some of the songs, it was *Going Buggy*, and I remember some of the songs and the costumes, they made the costumes all out of different trash bags because we were all bugs and so we had to like decorate them in different ways, and there were dances and songs and the whole school would come and watch… (Lola, Int. I from Excerpts I, p. 3) Note: Double-Coded—Arts
-IDENT	Participant's identity; sense of self (*e.g.* quiet, religious); personal characteristics; ideas about one's strengths and weaknesses I'm a quiet, I'm generally a quieter person, especially in situations like that, and so to like call me out like that in front of the whole class when I'm new, and the only new person, I didn't think it was like a good judgment call… (Lola, Int. I from Excerpts I, p. 1)
-SES/DEMO	any information regarding the participant's SES/Demographics (e.g., financial aid, community in which s/he grew up) Question: And did you have financial aid to attend school or you already had financial situation… Response: No financial aid. (Elizabeth, Int. 1, p. 3) OR It's pretty small. It's in the suburbs. Very white, upper middle class to wealthier families. (Elsie, Int. 1, from Excerpts II, p. 1)
-WORK	work experiences, including volunteering, part-time work, camp counselor, tutoring, etc. I did work during the school year babysitting, but I really don't consider that like a steady job and in the summers I usually came back to [town] and worked during

	the summer and one summer I spent at [town] doing research. (Elizabeth, Int. 1, p. 3) OR * I actually worked as a tour guide for two of the summers at the House of the Seven Gables…And so that was, that was really enjoyable and it was somewhat career-oriented just because I was teaching about the house to people going through and we had school groups through once in a while and they were the most fun to take through the house and they were the most fun to take through the house. They were usually pretty inquisitive and good students. (Elsie, Int. 1, p. 4)
-TRANS	any information regarding the transition to Teacher Education (e.g., what they did prior to or while taking their first program courses, their feelings about moving from working or college to teacher education/graduate school, etc.) Well, I started my classes here immediately, so. Actually, my first class here was a couple days before my graduation from [art school]. So I've kinda just kept going with my schooling. (Riley, Int. I, pg. 2) OR And so then, I think then it was, the transition was a little hard. And then I think I knew, I felt pressure from, expectations to just go into PhD instead of a Masters and teach kinda thing. So that's why in the summer I was like, maybe it's just me, and it's something very personal that, but I know I do share some, some of the people that were with me kinda, at times sometimes felt the same way. (Sonia, Int. 1, p. 29) Note: Double-coded—EC-WORK
-PREV KNOW	Previous Knowledge – what TC/T already knew about teaching, content, etc. *Well, as I said, I have a very good background in the traditional canon. I'm

	weak on Multicultural Literature. I am a little weak on figuring out history—like when things were written in terms of, I've never taken a survey course so I've never really gone through different periods of literature since high school. I've gotten a little bit of it cause I took some survey, things that were more like survey courses in French oddly enough, in a French literature course so I have a little bit of that but I think I am gonna need to do some work just getting straight in my mind the different periods. (Elsie, Int. 1, pg. 22) Note: Double-coded—ENG
-REASONS BC	reasons for choosing/attending BC I think one of the most appealing things to me was BC really comes out and says they want to teach teachers ways to promote social justice and that's very important to me having done my undergraduate work at a Jesuit school as well. I really like that mission and I like seeing social justice in action if you will, so that was an appeal, big draw for me. Also it was rated really high as terms of ranking and that's not the end all be all of colleges but I felt that was important to me. Classes seemed interesting. The people that I spoke to in terms of questions about the program, the Dean, Director of the Donovan Program, they are all very receptive and willing to sit down with me and answer questions so I liked the kind of feeling that I got, very welcoming. Yah, I think those are the big things. (Elizabeth, Int. 1, p. 1) Note: Double-coded—SJ
-FAMILY	information about TC/T's own family It was really nice to have parents that were willing to make the effort to find someone, but I did struggle through high school…(Elizabeth, Int. 1, p. 5) OR

	*Well my mom is more of a talker than my dad so she would always come home with tons of stories about her class. (Lola, Int. 1, p.)